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THE POLITICAL MEETING PLACES OF  
THE GREEKS



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# THE POLITICAL MEETING PLACES OF THE GREEKS

BY

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## PREFACE

One has only to glance over the handbooks on Greek architecture to realize that there has been a tendency to emphasize religious monuments almost to the exclusion of domestic and civic architecture. In recent years, however, excavation has greatly increased our knowledge of the Greek house—Pre-historic, Classical, and Hellenistic—and this information is now finding its way into integrated studies. But there is still an obvious need to collect the scattered publications of the excavated remains of public buildings other than temples, to divide them into types according to their uses and general plan, and to combine this with the further information available from ancient literature and inscriptions. Only by some such method can the discoveries already made in this field be rendered accessible and useful in excavations to come. Only thus, too, can an adequate general acquaintance with Greek civic architectural practice be acquired.

It is hoped that the present study may fill this gap in the case of one important type of public edifice, viz. the assembly halls of the political council and assembly, called respectively *bouleuterion* and *ecclesiasterion*. Sometimes, particularly in connection with the assembly, open-air auditoria were more practicable than closed buildings; hence, the title "THE POLITICAL MEETING PLACES OF THE GREEKS" has been chosen to cover numerous arrangements quite different from the roofed structures which are the primary concern of the book.

I became interested in this subject in 1937 while studying at The Johns Hopkins University, under Professor David M. Robinson who suggested the topic, and the result of my investigation under his direction and with his helpful criticisms and many suggestions was accepted there in 1940 as a doctoral dissertation. In 1937-1938 Professor Robinson made it possible for me to go to Greece and take part in the excavations at Olynthus and travel in Greece. As a result of this

preliminary work on the topic I was granted a fellowship by the Royal Society of Canada in 1938/39 which enabled me not only to take part in the excavations at Pylos but also to examine the majority of the sites in Greece and Asia Minor where such buildings as are considered in this monograph have been reported. In a few cases little or nothing remained to be studied; in others the ruins were inaccessible, usually because of military restrictions. But I was able to discover some new material, to check descriptions and measurements, to add details to published plans, and to take many photographs. One rather complete building, the Bouleuterion at Heraclea ad Latmum, has barely been mentioned heretofore; several others have been noticed by their excavators in the most cursory fashion. The majority, however, have been competently described, but even in these cases it will be convenient to have all of the material under one cover. This is, in fact, indispensable to the detailed comparative treatment which follows. Since the completion of the dissertation, 1940, I have added some new material and revised certain portions already compiled.

I have been at pains to discuss problems with the excavators whenever possible. Professor A. K. Rhomaïos was exceptionally generous in allowing me to include his heretofore unpublished plan of the Bouleuterion at Thermon. Professor David M. Robinson has very kindly permitted me to publish for the first time the reconstruction of the Bouleuterion at Olynthus, which he worked out with Travlos. Professor H. A. Thompson has gone over with me on the spot the relevant buildings in the Athenian Agora. I talked with Mr. Francis Bacon about the Assos Bouleuterion, with Mr. J. D. S. Pendlebury about the Cretan Theatral Areas, with Professor K. Kourouniotes about the Geronticon at Nysa, with Professor O. Broneer about the Curia at Corinth, and with Dr. G. Welter about the Bouleuterion at Calauria. All of these gentlemen have earned my gratitude by their friendliness and interest in the project.

In all cases where I had not secured oral permission from

the excavators to reproduce plans, to utilize published descriptions, and to print my own photographs, I wrote to the proper authorities for such permission. I wish to acknowledge the following generous responses: Macmillan and Co. for the plan of the Theatral Area at Cnossus reproduced on Plate I; the American School of Classical Studies in Athens and Professor Thompson for the plan of the Athenian Pnyx reproduced on Plate II (3 drawings telescoped into 1); Professors Thompson and T. L. Shear for the plans of the buildings in the Athenian Agora on Plates III, IV, XIX; Professor Broneer for the plan of the Corinthian Curia on Plate VIII; the Archaeological Institute of America for the plan of the Bouleuterion of Assos on Plate V; the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin for the plans of the buildings at Notium, Priene, Olympia, Calauria, Miletus, Troy, and Nysa on Plates VI, VII, X, XIV, XVI; the German (formerly Austrian) Archaeological Institute in Vienna for the plan of the Bouleuterion at Lousoi on Plate VIII; the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for the plan of the Thersilium on Plate XII. The photographs reproduced in Figures 1, 3, 7, 9, 10, 11, 18, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27 have been used with the specific permission of the proper authorities. Also, the reconstruction of the Bouleuterion at Miletus on Plate XIV is reprinted with the permission of the German Archaeological Institute.

In some cases, as is inevitable in these times, I received no reply to my letters, or they were returned. When a second request fared no better, I decided to include all of the material. I trust that those whom I have been unable to contact will understand my predicament, and I am confident that they would wish to have the result of their work added, thereby making this study as complete as possible.

I wish also to acknowledge the help of various friends and advisers on more general problems. Professors Robinson and Thompson have read the whole in manuscript, and their judgment and encouragement have been of inestimable assistance at all stages of its preparation. Professor H. L. Crosby and Mr. G. P. Stevens, Directors of the American

School of Classical Studies during my stay in Greek lands, took a kindly and helpful interest in the project. Mr. Stevens read Chapter VII and made several very useful suggestions. Professor C. W. Blegen was good enough to look over Chapter III, and Dr. Meritt, Dr. Robinson, and Dr. Schweigert were kind advisers on the epigraphical material. Professor F. E. Brown expressed his approval of the project and was reading the completed manuscript when duty called him abroad.

The translations from ancient authors are taken from the Loeb series, except in a very few cases where I felt that changes were required or a work is still untranslated. The translation of inscriptions and all of the photographs are mine. I have purposely emphasized views of sites which are not easily reached or for which good illustrations are not readily available. The drawings in the plates are the workmanship of Fenwick P. Horn, Lehigh '42. Most of the secretarial work and the preparation of the index I owe to my wife. Professor E. L. Crum of Lehigh University and Professors A. S. Cooley and S. P. Goodrich of Moravian College for Women helped with the final reading of proof. Mr. Howard Leach has been very helpful in obtaining by inter-library loan material which was necessary for the completion of the study. I wish to express my gratitude to the committee on Fellowships of the Royal Society of Canada and to Professor N. W. DeWitt. The financial help of the Society enabled me to do the necessary traveling, and Professors DeWitt and Robinson supervised my work under their auspices. My deepest debt is to Dr. Robinson, who directed the dissertation and financially made possible its publication at this time. He has done his usual competent job in criticising the manuscript, in preparing it for the press, in reading the proof, and attending to numberless details which had to be settled in Baltimore. He has cut out many errors and made many helpful additions, suggestions and criticisms.

A word should be added in explanation of the spelling of proper names. It is the policy in this series to use Latin forms, and this has been followed in the *m. in.* In *trans-*

literating a few words, however, such as *βουλευτήριο* and *ἐκκλησιαστήριον* we have kept the Greek ending, since such words are somewhat unusual and non-Anglicized. This is doubtless an unsatisfactory compromise, but we can only assure the reader that it has caused more concern to the editors than it can possibly cause to any one who may peruse these pages.

WILLIAM A. McDONALD

Bethlehem, Pa., February, 1943.





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## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>A. A.</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger in Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.</i>
<i>A. J. A.</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology.</i>
<i>A. M.</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung.</i>
<i>B. C. H.</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
<i>B. S. A.</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens.</i>
<i>C. A. H.</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History.</i>
<i>C. I. G.</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.</i>
<i>C. R. A. I.</i>	<i>Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.</i>
<i>Dellion</i>	<i>Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον.</i>
<i>Arch. Eph.</i>	<i>Ἀρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς.</i>
<i>Jahrbuch</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.</i>
<i>Jahreshefte</i>	<i>Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien.</i>
<i>J. H. S.</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies.</i>
<i>I. G.</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae.</i>
<i>Praktika</i>	<i>Πρακτικά τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας.</i>
<i>P. W.</i>	<i>Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft.</i>
<i>R. A.</i>	<i>Revue Archéologique.</i>
<i>R. E. G.</i>	<i>Revue des Études Grecques.</i>



# THE POLITICAL MEETING PLACES OF THE GREEKS

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

A study of the political meeting places of the Greeks should include some account of the nature and development of the political bodies themselves. Even the following bare outline may help the reader to fit into their proper place the many details which will be mentioned in connection with these institutions.

In the first place, an apology is perhaps in order for the inclusion of certain constructions belonging to the Minoan period in Crete. Objections might be raised to this on the grounds that the Minoans were not Greeks, practically nothing is known of their political institutions, and hence it is useless to try to identify their political meeting places. But the Minoan culture strongly influenced that of the mainland, and it has even been claimed that the form of the Minoan "theatral area" was the prototype for the agora, the focal point of political life in every later Greek city. Hence, in a study such as this, the possibility of identifying the remains of the earliest formal meeting places of political bodies in Greek lands must not be overlooked. It is certain that a large group of nobles surrounded the kings of the Minoan period, and in all probability they formed an advisory council. Whether or not the common people of the Minoan state had the right of participation in political debate is unknown, but the indications are that the government was rigidly oligarchical.

The people whose stage of civilization is reflected in the Homeric poems were already in possession of the political institutions which contained the seeds of almost all later developments. These were so well established that Homer

regarded the Cyclopes with their lack of "man-ennobling assemblies" as absolute barbarians. The poems contain frequent references to the king (*βασιλεύς*), the advisory council of princes or nobles (*βουλή*), and the assembly of all adult males (*ἀγορή*). The first two constituted the machinery for carrying out legislative, executive, and judicial functions; the third was convened merely to hear decisions and was still politically impotent.

The city of this age was made up of a number of large families. The king was the head of the most important of these and was absolute in religious and military matters, yet the council, formed of the heads of the other families, had considerable political power. Thus there existed in embryo an aristocratic or oligarchic state, and it was only a matter of time until the king was deposed by the nobles or was stripped of all but nominal power. In some cases hereditary monarchy persisted; usually the title, reduced to a religious magistracy, became an annual office open to all members of the ruling families. The forms of oligarchy varied considerably from city to city, depending largely on what qualifications were thought necessary for inclusion in the nobility. The superior class sometimes included a rather large percentage of the citizen body, but it was usually confined to a more or less exclusive minority. The oligarchs formed a council, admission to which was rigidly guarded. It might include a thousand members in round numbers, along with a smaller executive council; usually it numbered less than a hundred, and sometimes as few as five members. The terms for such a body include *βουλή*, *γερουσία*, and *συνέδριον*. Under such a government, it is natural that the assembly was limited in numbers, or in power, or in both. Although the Homeric name *ἀγορή* persisted in a few cases, a full assembly was usually called *ἐκκλησία*. The Doric equivalent for this designation was *ἀλία*, *ἀπέλλα*, or *ἀλιαία*. In addition to the full assembly, there was in many states a limited assembly with greater actual power. It was called *μικρὰ ἐκκλησία* or *ἑσκλητος*. Such was the general political situation in mainland Greece

and in the colonies in the eighth and early seventh centuries B. C., and in numerous cases it remained the same throughout the whole succeeding period of Greek independence.

But the lot of the masses usually became unbearable under an oligarchical government, and in the seventh and sixth centuries it was a regular development for the people to choose a champion to liberate them. This "tyrant" ruled alone, or with a few of his relatives and close friends as chief magistrates. Since his decision alone was valid, he had no need of a regular council or assembly, and these bodies were seldom convened. In some cases the institutions fell into complete disuse.

The tyrant, however, was only a means to an end, and when he had freed the commoners from the rich and privileged class, he was driven from office. In scarcely a single city did tyranny last for more than a century. When the body of citizens had thus been freed, political power was usually assumed, directly or indirectly, by the people, and a democratic government was established. In such states the voting assembly was supreme, and an advisory council made up of ordinary citizens had the executive power. In some cases, however, great families had retained, or once again seized, their hereditary prerogatives, and oligarchy was re-established. There, the council was supreme, and a few men usually had control of it. These two were the regular forms of government in Greek city-states from the fifth century until the conquest of Greece by Rome in the second century B. C. Examples may be found of extreme oligarchies, extreme democracies, and every gradation between. Moreover, the political bodies within them, although the same in name, varied greatly in numbers, method of composition, and power. In this period, too, there are examples of hereditary monarchies and tyrannies in which political power was centered in the individual, and where other bodies, if they existed at all, had usually only nominal rights.

A Panhellenic league (*κοινόν*) was formed at the time of the Persian War, and in it the love of independence inherent

in the Greek states was for a time overcome by the realization of the need for united action against a common danger. In the succeeding years two leagues (*συνμαχίαι*), the one led by Sparta and the other by Athens, began to dominate Greek politics. They had a council (*σύλλογος*) in which all the allied states were represented, but the leading city always possessed an unbalancing prestige which was apt to be resented by the other members. Athens lost her allies at the end of the fifth century B. C. but re-established herself at the head of a league early in the second quarter of the following century. This time a league council (*συνέδριον*), in which Athens had no vote, conferred with the Athenian assembly and council. Also, several leagues (*κοινά*) of a rather different type were developing in the fifth century B. C. They had usually been formed much earlier and had originated in a religious festival at some cult place shared by neighboring cities. But they were gradually organized more efficiently on a federal basis and began to serve a definitely political purpose. The federal machinery consisted of a representative council (*βουλή, συνέδριον*), and usually an assembly (*ἐκκλησία, σύνοδος, σύγκλητος*), which was sometimes of a limited type and sometimes open to any citizen of a federated state who cared to attend.

The federal leagues were suppressed by Philip of Macedon in the second half of the fourth century B. C. On the other hand, he reorganized the Panhellenic league in whose council all of the states in Greece were represented. Philip's successors alternately suppressed and revived this league, as it suited their immediate purposes. Many of the federal leagues were also allowed to form again, and new ones were in some cases organized under Macedonian patronage. Still other leagues took the opportunity of organizing or reorganizing when their rulers were too busily engaged to prevent them. Greek political history in the third and in the first half of the second century B. C. has to be studied largely in relation to these federal leagues. Their very existence often depended on the policy of individual rulers, at first Macedonian and later Roman, and they were being continually dissolved and re-

formed. Their organization varied greatly, some being founded by a powerful individual and remaining under his surveillance, others comprising a number of cantonal communities, and still others consisting of a union of regular city-states. Also, the political bodies which constituted the federal machinery exhibit almost every possible gradation in the way of representation, so that it is frequently difficult to distinguish a large council from a limited assembly. These leagues were a hindrance to Roman diplomacy in Greece, and from the beginning of the second century B. C. they were gradually suppressed. In 146 B. C. a general decree forced those remaining to disband.

Under Macedonian control the governmental bodies of the individual cities were constantly watched and interfered with by foreign governors and garrisons, but it usually suited the rulers to leave the city government in the hands of a subservient council and assembly. There was almost constant unrest, suspicion, and change in Greek politics of this period. In the early years of their rule, the Romans usually allowed the city governments more freedom than had the Macedonians, but they reserved the right to interfere in all matters and completely controlled foreign policy.

With the inclusion of Greece in the Roman Empire, almost all local political development ended. The city councils and assemblies, however, continued to function with limited power, and political offices of every kind were multiplied and became more and more stereotyped and artificial. The federal leagues were allowed and even encouraged to re-form, but their main function became the worship of the Roman emperors.



## CHAPTER II

### CRETE IN THE MINOAN PERIOD

It has been suggested that there was probably a council of nobles at the court of the Minoan kings.<sup>1</sup> If these bodies were small and if the embassies with which they treated were limited, the palace throne rooms would have been the natural place to hold such meetings.

The Throne Room complex at Cnossus consists of an antechamber and the Throne Room proper. The antechamber faces east on the main court and gives access through double doors to the Throne Room. Extending along the north and south walls of the antechamber there are two stone benches, the one *ca.* 4 m., the other *ca.* 5 m. in length. In the Throne Room the gypsum throne stands in the middle of the north wall, while in the remaining space along that side and the north part of the west wall there is a bench with a total length of *ca.* 5.50 m. At its south side, facing the throne, is a sunken "lustral area."<sup>2</sup> There is room for some twenty-four people to be seated in the two rooms. The benches in the anteroom seem to have been provided for the use of those waiting for an audience. Hence, even supposing that the majority of those in attendance on the king were not provided with seats, only a very limited number could have been accommodated.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Evans, *Palace of Minos*, III, pp. 333-338; *ibid.*, IV, pp. 901-920, Fig. 895. This complex belongs to the L. M. II period and is intrusive. In a gap in the north bench of the anteroom a wooden throne similar to that of stone in the inner room has been restored. Evans believes that the Throne Room of the earlier palace (M. M. III) was in the domestic quarter in the Hall of the Double Axes. There, the western section of the lower hall has been called an audience chamber. Against its north wall there appears to have been a wooden throne and canopy.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the so-called Throne Room in the northwest section of the palace at Haghia Triada. It is also quite small.

There is reason, therefore, to doubt whether the throne rooms or any of the other halls in the palaces would have been adequate to accommodate larger state gatherings and meetings for political purposes. Among the remains of this period discovered at various sites in Crete, certain arrangements would appear to be better suited to such meetings; indeed, the Cnossian Theatral Area has been mentioned by its excavators



Fig. 1. Theatral Area, Cnossus, from northwest.

in connection with state receptions. In the following pages these constructions are examined first individually and then collectively.

*Cnossus*.<sup>4</sup> (Plate I, Fig. 1) Immediately north of the west court of the palace there is a rectangular paved space, *ca.* 13 m. x 10 m. in area, with straight rows of seats bordering its east and south sides. A wall delimits its north side, while the "Royal Road" leads from the paved space through a gap in a wall at the west. A later road branches from the "Royal

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<sup>4</sup> Evans, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 578-587, Fig. 302 (reproduced in Plate I of this volume).

Road" west of the area and skirts its south side, cutting into the seats there.<sup>5</sup> The eastern series of seats (much restored) consists of eighteen rows, and at the level of the top step there is a platform *ca.* 2 m. wide.<sup>6</sup> Near the center of the south series of steps there is a sort of ramp leading down to the central area. East of this ramp six rows of seats are preserved, but west of it only three, with traces of a fourth.<sup>7</sup> The "Royal Box" in the southeast corner of the area is built of good limestone masonry and measures 5.25 m. x 4.84 m. Its

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<sup>5</sup> The former road is of the regular Minoan type, *ca.* 1.32 m. wide. It is scarcely raised above the surrounding level, but its construction is distinct, and the rest of the central area slopes slightly toward it from either side. It extends through the paved area up to the eastern series of stairs. There, a section of a similar roadway leads north below the lowest step and must originally have communicated with a small stairway leading out of the area.

<sup>6</sup> The seats are 10.60 m. long up to the eighth row, and 10.16 m. above this, where the "Royal Box" cuts into them slightly. They vary in width from 0.60 m. to 0.72 m., while the height of the risers is between 0.10 m. and 0.12 m. Behind the platform there is a drop of 1.33 m. to a pavement (apparently a continuation of that in the enclosed area) which extends back to a wall *ca.* 7.30 m. further east. On the south side of this area behind the seats there may have been a small stair which gave access to them.

<sup>7</sup> At a distance of *ca.* 2 m. south of the road, directly opposite these and parallel with them, there are two short steps with risers of 0.13 m., width of 0.74 m., and length of *ca.* 2.25 m. They have no clear connection with the seats in the Theatral Area, although it is possible that there may have been such a connection before the road was built.

Behind the eastern half of the south series of steps is a wall *ca.* 0.40 m. thick. Only 0.67 m. from its east end, which is formed by the "Royal Box," is an entrance 0.74 m. in width, and inside it there is noticeable additional wear in the seats. The ramp in the center, however, was the main entrance on this side. The three lowest seats of this series are 0.72 m. to 0.80 m. in width and 13.19 m. in length. At present they stop 3.08 m. short of the western boundary wall of the area, and it appears unlikely that they ever extended much further. The three higher ones have a width of 0.50 m. to 0.56 m. and their preserved length is only 6.27 m. The height of the risers in the whole series varies from 0.14 m. to 0.20 m.

top is approximately level with the highest seat of the eastern series.<sup>8</sup>

According to Evans, the higher and more massive southern steps are the earlier and belong to a structure dating *ca.* M. M. II a. The area in its present form dates from L. M. I a.<sup>9</sup>



Fig. 2. Theatral Area, Phaestus, from east.

*Phaestus*.<sup>10</sup> (Plate I, Fig. 2) The arrangement in the west court of this palace has been recognized as another

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<sup>8</sup> Apparently, it was surrounded with a wall or parapet, for the level at the edges is slightly higher, and at the east end of the south side two blocks of a higher course are actually in place. The logical position for the entrance is at the south of the east side, and there the pavement shows signs of wear.

<sup>9</sup> This is proved by the small water runnels built in descending parabolic curves in the outside of the "Royal Box"—a feature which does not appear until that period.

<sup>10</sup> *Monumenti Antichi*, XII, 1902, pp. 33, 34, Fig. 10, Pl. III; Pernier, *Il Palazzo Minoico di Festòs*, pp. 177-194, Pl. V (reproduced in Plate I of this volume).

"Theatral Area." Along the north side of the court is a series of nine rows of seats.<sup>11</sup> The second from lowest row is *ca.* 23 m. long, while the others are slightly less.<sup>12</sup> Between them and the high wall which bounds the court on the west there is an interval of *ca.* 5 m. Here a small, roughly-leveled platform and four circular cuttings can be distinguished in the sloping native rock. These cuttings may have held wooden posts for a sort of pavilion. Below are rougher cuttings, perhaps for steps leading down to the court. At the east end the lower seats are bounded by a series of three small rooms which contained cult furniture.<sup>13</sup> The uppermost seat forms a platform *ca.* 1.10 m. wide, and behind it are traces of the original rear wall. This shows clearly that the construction was not a monumental stairway, since this wall prevented any communication with the area behind.

The court itself is paved with irregular slabs. It is bounded on the east by the outside palace wall, while the southern and southwestern limits are not clearly defined. A narrow road, such as those at Cnossus, runs westward along a corridor of the palace and into the south end of the court. It then turns northwest diagonally across the court and reaches the series of seats somewhat west of their center.<sup>14</sup> From this junction

<sup>11</sup> They vary in width from 0.63 m. to 0.73 m., and in height of riser from 0.16 m. to 0.28 m.

<sup>12</sup> At the west end all are broken, but they apparently did not extend beyond their restored length.

<sup>13</sup> The lowest seat ends in a large block which is almost double the ordinary width of the seat and which forms the threshold of the door leading into the middle room of the series. The next three seats abut on the western wall of the northernmost room. A corridor led in from the palace steps at the level of the fifth seat, and the block forming the eastern end of this seat was apparently a sill for a door or gate. The four upper seats end more than a meter further west than the others, and at one time there was a parapet along their eastern edge.

<sup>14</sup> This road is *ca.* 1.30 m. wide and is raised 0.10 m. to 0.15 m. above the paving of the court. It meets the lowest seat at an angle, and the triangular block needed to fill the gap is missing.

a distinct stairway, like those in theaters, leads northward obliquely to the top of the series of seats.<sup>15</sup>

Such was essentially the arrangement in the period of the early palace, i. e. M. M. The cult rooms, although they were slightly later additions, also belong in this general period. In the time of the second palace, i. e. L. M. I, the level of the west court was raised to that of the fifth row of seats, but the higher seats were apparently still in use. The back wall was at that time shifted *ca.* 1 m. northward and was used to support the terrace behind.

*Mallia.*<sup>16</sup> In this palace there is a construction which has analogies with the other Theatral Areas. It consists of a series of four broad steps facing eastward on the main palace court.<sup>17</sup> The complete length of each of the upper three is 8.40 m. There is a gap near the center of the lowest, and the excavators think it possible that a column stood there. South of it the step is slightly narrower and extends *ca.* 3 m. beyond the edge of the upper steps and in front of a contiguous cult area. This area is stone-paved, *ca.* 3.00 m. x 3.50 m. in dimensions, and in it a stone bench and a stone cult table were found.

The excavators consider that the steps belong to a monumental stairway which led up to the second story of the

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<sup>15</sup> It consists of eight large blocks set above or into the seats. Above the second row from the bottom these stair blocks are set increasingly deeper into the seat blocks, so that, although the width of the steps is the same as that of the seats, the gradient is somewhat less steep. Consequently, the risers vary from 0.24 m. at the bottom to 0.18 m. at the top. The width of the stairway itself varies from 1.23 m. for the lower three steps, to 1.35 m. for the fourth, to 1.19 m. for the remainder. The block which forms the fourth step is the longest and is rectangular, whereas the others are all cut obliquely. Hence, the whole stairway runs slightly toward the west, although not at such a sharp angle as the road leading up to it from the court.

<sup>16</sup> *Études Crétoises*, IV, *Fouilles Exécutées à Mallia*, 1925-26, pp. 14-16.

<sup>17</sup> The risers vary from 0.15 m. to 0.19 m., the width from 0.79 m. to 1.08 m.

palace.<sup>18</sup> The palace dates from M. M. I through L. M. I, with perhaps two periods of reorganization.

*Gournia*.<sup>19</sup> (Fig. 3) A series of steps in the northwest corner of the court in this small palace has been compared



Fig. 3. Gournia, from east

with the Theatral Areas at Cnossus and Phaestus.<sup>20</sup> The excavator believes that originally the three steps at the north led up to the main entrance, but that when it was converted

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<sup>18</sup> But there is, and apparently always was, a gap of 1.20 m. between the highest step and the nearest cross wall. Furthermore, this cross wall is so poor and rough that it is unlikely that it could have supported the great weight of a stone stairway. A continuation in wood is possible, but wood was sparingly used, and a considerable quantity would have been required. Also, it will be shown below that these "steps" are of very awkward dimensions for a stairway but approximate the dimensions of the seats in the other Theatral Areas.

<sup>19</sup> Boyd-Hawes, *Gournia*, p. 25, Fig. 10.

<sup>20</sup> Evans, *op. cit.*, II, p. 578; Tritsch, "Die Agora von Elis und die alt-griechische Agora," *Jahreshefte*, XXVII, 1932, pp. 82-105.

from a manor into a palace they were rendered pointless as a stairway by a wall which was built behind them and blocked off the entrance.<sup>21</sup> At that time, a second series of steps at right angles and contiguous to these was added on the west side of the court.<sup>22</sup> They lead to a platform *ca.* 4 m. square, paved with stone blocks of various sizes in its eastern part and with one large smooth stone in the western section. In the surface of the large slab there are four depressions and a deep vertical hole with a horizontal continuation at its bottom going right through the stone. This would appear to be a provision for cult practice, although it might possibly have been for pressing oil or for some similar purpose. This palace is dated in L. M. I.

*Haghia Triada.* (Fig. 4, p. 15) A construction here should perhaps be mentioned along with the others. It lies just south of the western part of the palace and directly north of the modern chapel. A series of four steps *ca.* 4.45 m. long faces east on a small, stone-paved court.<sup>23</sup> They are rather broken at the northern end and may possibly have continued at right angles facing north on the court. Above them is a terrace with no sign of a backing wall, such as those found at Knossos and Phaestus. A wide flat block lying above the top step at the south has cuttings which suggest a cult use.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> It may be questioned if the northern series was ever blocked off during the time the palace was in use. What the excavator has taken for the lowest course of a wall which put the stairway out of use appears to be a fourth step in the series. It is of similar dimensions and shows considerable wear on its top surface. Nor is it too high for the floor level inside. At present, there is nothing to indicate that a wall ever blocked these steps.

<sup>22</sup> The north flight of steps has risers from 0.10 m. to 0.23 m. and a width of 0.35 m. to 0.55 m. The bottom step is 4.22 m. long, while the top one is 5.71 m. The west flight is still more irregular, with risers of 0.13 m. to 0.19 m. and a width of 0.39 m. to 0.56 m. The bottom step is 2.70 m. long and the top 4.00 m.

<sup>23</sup> They vary from 0.42 m. to 0.51 m. in width, and from 0.15 m. to 0.19 m. in height of risers

<sup>24</sup> On the south side of the east court of the little palace at Nirou



*Comparison of the Theatral Areas*

A large group of people, wishing to hear and see something that is to take place before them, naturally choose for their place of assembly a convenient and gradual slope, which offers more or less comfortable seating accommodation and has immediately in front of it a level space large enough for the performer or performers. The spot most accessible and best answering these conditions becomes the regular meeting place, and sooner or later artificial means are likely to be used to make it more comfortable and adequate for its purpose. The first step in this direction would be the careful leveling of the space in front. Provision would also be made for accommodating the largest possible number of spectators within a reasonable distance of the center of interest. This would be most easily accomplished by the construction of straight rows of seats rising with the natural slope, either cut in the rock or built of wood or stone.<sup>25</sup> If no natural slope were available,

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Chani there is an arrangement which the excavator compares with the Theatral Areas (*Arch. Eph.*, 1922, pp. 2-4, Diagram A). A series of three short steps leads to a platform which was built against the enclosing wall. Horns of consecration were found nearby, and the suggestion is that these steps were used as a place from which to view religious spectacles which were performed in the court. They would have accommodated only a very few, however, and it is more likely that they formed a sort of altar toward which spectators in the court would face (cf. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survivals in Greek Religion*, p. 92).

Cf. also an interesting assembly place discovered behind the southwest corner of the city wall at Poliochni in Lemnos (*A. A.*, L, 1935, p. 234, Fig. 22). It consists of a large rectangular "room," with two stone benches occupying one long side. The excavators call it "the oldest theater-like place" in Greece, since it is associated with the second period of the city, i. e. early in the third millenium B. C. Little more can be said of it until the complete publication is available.

<sup>25</sup> Of course, level areas were utilized at all periods, but practical experience shows how unsatisfactory they are, for visibility if not for acoustics. Convenient slopes, if available, must always have been chosen for regular meeting places of large bodies. Failing these, in a

they would be likely to construct artificially a simple grandstand.

This is the essential arrangement of the Theatral Area at Phaestus, which was in use mainly in the Middle Minoan period. It is likewise the arrangement at Cnossus in the earlier phase, which dates from the same time. With these corresponds the plan of the contemporaneous construction at



Fig. 4. Hagia Triada, from northeast.

Mallia. The limits of such an assembly place are, of course, reached when the spectators at either end or at the back are too far away to get the full benefit of what is going on before them. Then, it would be natural to change the direction of the seats at one or both ends, so that those seated there would be closer to the center. This change would usually involve the building of artificial walls to support these wings. Thus, at Cnossus the eastern series of seats was artificially built up and

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later period at least, slopes were constructed artificially. Still another expedient was to elevate the performer or speaker, while the spectators remained on the level ground.

added at right angles to the existing south series. A similar change was made at Gournia. These changes were effected at the height of Minoan building activity in L. M. I.

Also, certain facts emerge from a comparison of the actual dimensions of the rows of steps or seats in the constructions described above with the usual and reasonable dimensions of other seats and stairs.<sup>20</sup>

## I. GENERAL DIMENSIONS

<i>Seats</i>	<i>Maximum</i>	<i>Minimum</i>	<i>Average</i>
<i>width</i> (sitting room and space for feet of person behind)	0 88 m.	0.65 m.	0.75 m.
<i>height</i>	0.51 m.	0.27 m.	0.37 m.
<i>Steps</i>			
<i>width</i> of tread	0.50 m.	0.30 m.	0.38 m.
<i>height</i> of risers	0 28 m.	0.14 m.	0.20 m.

## II. THEATRAL AREAS

	<i>Cnossus</i>	<i>Phaestus</i>	<i>Mallia</i>	<i>Gournia</i>	<i>Haghia Triada</i>
<i>width</i>	<i>ca.</i> 0.66 m. (east) <i>ca.</i> 0.76 m. (south)	<i>ca.</i> 0.68 m.	0.80 m.	0.35 m. to 0.55 m.	0.42 m. to 0.51 m.
<i>height</i>	<i>ca.</i> 0.10 m. (east) <i>ca.</i> 0.20 m. (south)	<i>ca.</i> 0.20 m.	0.15 m. to 0 19 m.	<i>ca.</i> 0.15 m.	<i>ca.</i> 0.17 m.

From this table it is clear that in all of these constructions the height of the risers is considerably less than that of regular seats but approximates that of steps. Then, in the cases of

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<sup>20</sup> These figures represent measurements of the dimensions of seats and stairways in a representative number of monuments of the Minoan period, in addition to later assembly places and various other buildings. No doubt, exceptions could be found to these limits, but such would be quite rare, and usually a special reason would be evident. Evans (*op. cit.*, II, p. 760, n. 4) speaks of the uniformity of stair dimensions in the palace at Cnossus and gives 0.16 m. for the height of the risers and 0.39 m. for the width of the treads.

Cnossus, Phaestus, and Mallia, the width is about that of regular seats, while at Gournia and Haghia Triada the width is that of steps. Therefore, the constructions at Gournia and Haghia Triada have the usual dimensions of steps and would appear to have been built primarily for this purpose. On the other hand, the constructions at Cnossus, Phaestus, and Mallia have risers of a height suitable for steps, but the width is that usual for seats. The former two, however, could not have been steps, since there were solid walls directly behind them. Also, such a width of tread in steps would have been awkward and quite unlikely in these great palaces. It necessitates stepping up always with the same foot, for one extra step must be taken on the level of each of the treads. One has only to test this out to conclude that such a stairway would be avoided. This practical consideration provides additional evidence that the arrangement at Mallia was for the same use as those at Cnossus and Phaestus.

But, if the constructions at Cnossus, Phaestus, and Mallia were used as seats, the shallowness of the risers has still to be explained. The highest, i. e. 0.20 m., would have been uncomfortable for one seated in the ordinary way, and the lowest, i. e. 0.10 m., would be quite impossible. One way of explaining this difficulty is to suppose that the spectators were provided with movable seats or benches which they could place along the front of the stone seat and so leave room for the feet of those in the row behind.<sup>27</sup> But a more likely solution is provided by an examination of the way some of the women are seated in the miniature "Temple Fresco" from Cnossus.<sup>28</sup> Their knees are turned sidewise, both in the same direction, and their feet are drawn up under them on the same seat. The dimensions of these seats would have served admirably for an audience seated in this way. The width would have been sufficient, and, since the spectators' feet did not rest on the level of the seat below, there would have been no need of high risers. It is noticeable in the "Grove and

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<sup>27</sup> Cf. the "Camp-Stool" fresco (Evans, *op. cit.*, IV, Pl. XXI).

<sup>28</sup> Evans, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 46-65, Pls. XVI, XVII.

Dance" fresco that part at least of the male audience is standing. There would be no point in such wide treads in the case of the above three constructions, if this was the position of the audience. However, the three narrower seats at the back of the south flight at Cnossus, which the excavators have suggested were for children, may have been used for a standing audience. Similarly, the steps at Gournia and Haghia Triada may have served a secondary purpose as a grandstand for an audience standing to view some spectacle in the court.<sup>20</sup>

The capacity of the Theatral Area at Cnossus has been calculated at slightly over five hundred, allowing 0.45 m. per person. Actual tests show that people seated "Minoan style" with their feet drawn up on the same level take up very little more room than if seated in the regular way. Their knees fit in behind the legs of the person next to them, and the only additional space needed is a little at either end of the whole row. Hence, it may be calculated that they would take up *ca.* 0.50 m. each. Reckoning from this, we find that the Theatral Area at Cnossus would hold *ca.* four hundred eighty-five spectators, that at Phaestus *ca.* four hundred twenty, and that at Mallia *ca.* seventy.

The capacity of the construction at Cnossus seems incompatible with the crowds represented in the miniature frescoes. In the "Temple Fresco" the first section of the stands holds some six hundred men and eighty women, while the "Sacred Grove and Dance" fresco shows at least fourteen hundred in all.<sup>20</sup> If these numbers are to be taken at all seriously, the Theatral Area cannot have been the scene of the great performances there portrayed. The excavators, therefore, suppose that the Theatral Area was a small theater for the exclusive use of the palace lords.<sup>21</sup> The open space was smoothly

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<sup>20</sup> But a person seated on them would have taken up the step below with his feet, and they are too narrow to sit "Minoan style" (cf. p. 33, Fig. 6).

<sup>20</sup> Evans, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 66-80, Pl. XVIII. Supplementary wooden benches may have accommodated others standing.

<sup>21</sup> Tritsch (*Jahreshefte*, XXVII, 1932, pp. 94, 95) also thinks that the extant Theatral Areas were for the noble

plastered and perhaps originally painted, and Evans conjectures that inside the rectangular area there must have been an oval fenced enclosure. But this area is impossibly small for the spirited bull fights which seem to have been the chief entertainment in the Cretan theater. Also, some sort of solid barrier would have been necessary for the safety of the spectators, and if such had existed traces would likely have remained.

The area in front of the seats at Phaestus is sufficiently large for spectacles on a considerable scale, but in the first period the road raised above the surface of the court would have been very inconvenient for dancers or bull fighters. The former might, of course, have confined their performance to the triangular space east of the diagonal road, but this would have thrown the whole performance off center for the audience. Both here and at Cnossus it is likely that there existed elsewhere a more suitable auditorium capable of accommodating a greater crowd.

Sacred dances, however, may well have been performed for a select company in these constructions. The open area in front of the grandstand portrayed in the "Grove and Dance" fresco was apparently quadrangular, as in the Theatral Area at Cnossus. No indication of the rich architectural decoration depicted in the "Temple Fresco" is preserved in the extant examples, unless it be the break in the lower seat at Mallia, where a column may have stood. It is probably significant that at Phaestus, Mallia, and Gournia there are shrines in close connection with the seats, and these were perhaps decorated with wooden columns and horns of consecration, as in the frescoes. At Cnossus, too, the so-called "Royal Box" is more probably the platform for an altar.

This apparent religious connection would tend to support the suggestion that state receptions and political deliberations were held in the Theatral Areas, since every indication points to the close association of religious and political functions in Minoan government. The Theatral Areas are, in fact, the most suitable and likely places of meeting for any but the most limited political bodies.

## CHAPTER III

### MAINLAND GREECE IN THE HOMERIC PERIOD<sup>1</sup>

#### A. Council

The king himself summoned the Homeric council and presided at its meetings.<sup>2</sup> In one case only are the Phaeacian nobles said to have summoned King Alcinous to council.<sup>3</sup> It usually met in the early morning, before the assembly,<sup>4</sup> but instances occur of its being convened after the assembly,<sup>5</sup> and even during the night in time of emergency.<sup>6</sup> The regular procedure was a preliminary sacrifice and feast, so that the councillors came to be called "men of the banquet."<sup>7</sup> After the meal, the deliberations began, with the members seated and the speaker standing.<sup>8</sup>

The council of the Greeks before Troy usually met in "the hut of Agamemnon."<sup>9</sup> Dolon expected to find it in session "at the ships of Agamemnon,"<sup>10</sup> but this in all probability refers to the same place, since the King would have pitched his camp on the shore as near as possible to the place where his ships were beached. A meeting of the council "near the ships of Nestor"<sup>11</sup> may perhaps be explained as a gesture of respect for their most revered councillor. Under battle stress they met on one occasion "beyond the trench in the open mid-space clear of the dead."<sup>12</sup> Once Hector, wishing to escape the

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. especially Ebeling, *Lexicon Homericum*; also Glotz, *The Greek City*, pp. 40-57; Moreau, "Les Assemblées Politiques chez Homère," *R. E. G.*, VI, 1893, pp. 204-230; Tritsch, *Jahreshefte*, XXVII, 1932, pp. 82-105; *P. W.*, I, s.v. "agora"; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, I, s.v. "agora." By Homeric period I mean to refer substantially to the Mycenaean age, but to allow for the lapse of time before the poems were written down (cf. Carpenter, *Classical Weekly*, XXXVI, 1943, pp. 117, 118).

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, II, 55, 404; IX, 89; X, 300.

<sup>3</sup> *Odyssey*, VI, 55.

<sup>4</sup> *Il.* IX, 9-12, 89.

<sup>5</sup> E.g., *Il.* II, 48-51, 84-100.

<sup>6</sup> *Il.* X, 201.

<sup>7</sup> *Il.* IV, 259, 260; *Od.* VII, 95-99; XV, 467.

<sup>8</sup> *Il.* II, 76.

<sup>9</sup> *Il.* IX, 90, 178. <sup>10</sup> *Il.* X, 326. <sup>11</sup> *Il.* II, 54. <sup>12</sup> *Il.* X, 194-201.

din, held a meeting of the Trojan council "by the barrow of god-like Ilos."<sup>13</sup> Thus, we observe a certain elasticity which is but natural in time of war.

The council of the Phacacians at Scheria regularly assembled in Alcinous' palace.<sup>14</sup> Yet, on one occasion, Nausicaa, as she went through the palace, encountered her father "going forth [θύραζε] to council with the renowned princes."<sup>15</sup> This passage seems to imply a place of meeting outside the palace. At the birthplace of Eumaeus the councillors met in the megaron of the palace.<sup>16</sup>

Hence, it is clear that the regular place of meeting for the Homeric council was the palace of the king or chief. Something, too, can be learned about the arrangement of the council-hall. We read that, in the palace of Alcinous,

seats [θρόνοι] were fixed along the wall on either hand, from the threshold [i. e. of the megaron proper] to the innermost chamber, and on them were thrown robes of soft fabric.<sup>17</sup>

The King had a special throne, and the seats nearest his were for the guests of honor. In the birthplace of Eumaeus, the cups and tables of the councillors were kept in the forehall of the palace and moved into the megaron only when needed.<sup>18</sup>

The throne and seats along the walls were no doubt similar to the interior arrangement already described in connection with the Cretan Throne Rooms.<sup>19</sup> In the mainland palaces of the Mycenaean period so far discovered, the megara are not so well preserved, but the position of the throne has been tentatively established in the palaces at Tiryns and Mycenae. In the former, the main megaron had a central hearth around which were symmetrically placed four columns to support the roof. Against the middle of the west wall there is a rectangular section of flooring which lacks the brilliantly decorated stucco and shows marks of superimposed blocks. It has been

<sup>13</sup> *Il.* X, 415.

<sup>14</sup> *Od.* VII, 98, 136.

<sup>15</sup> *Od.* VI, 53-55.

<sup>16</sup> *Od.* XV, 466-468.

<sup>17</sup> *Od.* VII, 95-99.

<sup>18</sup> *Od.* XV, 466-468.

<sup>19</sup> *Cf.* p. 6.



recognized as the place for a throne.<sup>20</sup> At Mycenae, in a square room of considerable size just west of the court, there is a similar rectangular gap in the stuccoed floor in the middle of the north side. It was originally sunk 0.15 m. below the level of the rest of the floor, and here it is conjectured that the throne of the king stood.<sup>21</sup> In neither case are there any certain traces of other seats, such as are described in the poems.

### B. Assembly

The word ἀγορή<sup>22</sup> is used in the poems to denote primarily the political assembly, and secondarily the place where that body held its meetings.<sup>23</sup> A fact which has escaped many scholars is that in Homer the word never has any connection with buying and selling. The mistaken idea that the *agoré* was much the same in function and in form as the agora of the strictly historical period has distorted their understanding of Homer's descriptions.<sup>24</sup> The impression which one receives from a careful reading of the relevant passages is that the

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<sup>20</sup> Hackl, *Tiryns*, II, pp. 223, 224, Pl. XIX. It is just possible that the "triglyph frieze," which was moved to the anteroom, may have formed the face of a bench along the wall on one or both sides of the throne, although its height (0.53 m.) is rather too great.

<sup>21</sup> Wace, *B. S. A.*, XXV, 1921/2, pp. 187, 188, Pl. II. Yet the Homeric poems make it clear that the throne was regularly in the main megaron of the palace, and the identification of a separate Throne Room must be regarded as uncertain. The whole southern half of the main megaron has fallen over the cliff, and it may well have been similar to that at Tiryns, which agrees with Homer's description. Wace thinks that this room served as an audience chamber and compares it with a room containing a throne just within the west entrance of the palace of Cnossus (Evans, *op. cit.*, II, p. 679). Tsountas considered that the gap was for a hearth (*Praktika*, 1886, p. 68).

<sup>22</sup> The Ionic form ἀγορή will be transcribed "agoré" to distinguish it from "agora" with its accompanying associations.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Ebeling, *op. cit.* and Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*, s. v. "ἀγορή."

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Tritsch, *Jahreshefte*, XXVII, 1932, p. 82; Daremberg et Saglio, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

*agoré* was essentially an auditorium, which could be constructed (τέτυκτο) of great quarried stones and which was provided with regular, and apparently permanent, seating arrangements for elders and people. There are, however, a few passages in the *Odyssey*<sup>26</sup> which can be explained only by the assumption that there was in close connection with this auditorium a space where men gathered daily to lounge and converse. Apparently, contests and dances could also be held here. By that time, the name *agoré* was evidently beginning to denote this area, as well as the actual construction in which the assembly formally gathered.

The Homeric assembly was regularly summoned by heralds at the bidding of the king,<sup>26</sup> although a prince such as Achilles or Telemachus might convene it in exceptional circumstances.<sup>27</sup> The time of meeting was almost invariably early morning.<sup>28</sup> It was contrary to all precedent when Agamemnon and Menelaus called an assembly at sunset, and all were drunk and disorderly.<sup>29</sup>

The meetings of the Greek assembly before Troy were not always held in the same place. This was noticed also in the case of the council and may likewise be readily explained by the fact that they were in an impermanent camp under conditions of almost continual warfare. Instances occur of an assembly "by the ships of the Achaeans,"<sup>30</sup> and another "by the prow of the ship of Agamemnon."<sup>31</sup> But there is mention, too, of a place,

by the ships of Odysseus, where was their assembly [*ἀγορή*] and place of law [*θέμις*], and whereby also were their altars of the gods established.<sup>32</sup>

This, along with other passages, shows that the same body carried out both political and judicial functions under reli-

<sup>26</sup> *Od.* VIII, 107-420; XVII, 52-74.

<sup>26</sup> *Il.* II, 50; IX, 9-11.

<sup>27</sup> *Il.* I, 54; XIX, 40-45; *Od.* II, 6.

<sup>28</sup> *Il.* II, 48-50; VII, 381, 382; *Od.* II, 1-7; VIII, 1-5.

<sup>29</sup> *Od.* III, 137-140.

<sup>31</sup> *Il.* VII, 382, 383.

<sup>30</sup> *Il.* I, 305.

<sup>32</sup> *Il.* XI, 806-808.

gious sanctions in the same meeting place.<sup>33</sup> The choice of the vicinity of Odysseus' ships as the regular meeting place is probably explained by a passage where they are said to have been "in the midst, so that a voice could be heard at either end."<sup>34</sup>

The Trojan assembly usually met "in the lofty city of Ilium, by the gates of Priam."<sup>35</sup> Indeed, the gate of the king's palace was the regular meeting place for audiences and for judgments throughout western Asia,<sup>36</sup> and it is very natural to find this true of a city with such strong Anatolian connections. Van Leeuwen states that the assemblies of the Homeric period were regularly held by the palace gates.<sup>37</sup> But there is no other instance mentioned in the poems, and several passages imply that the *agoré*, in Ithaca and Scheria at least, was some distance away from the palace. When encamped in the plain, the Trojans once met "by the eddying river,"<sup>38</sup> and again simply "in the open plain before the city."<sup>39</sup>

The Phaeacian assembly had its place of meeting by the harbor.<sup>40</sup> After telling Odysseus of the harbor and the ships, Nausicaa continues:

<sup>33</sup> The phrases "by the ships of the Achaeans" and "by the prow of the ship of Agamemnon" may refer to the same place, but this possibility can hardly be extended to "by the ships of Odysseus," since it is implied in the catalogue of ships that they were not close to those of Agamemnon (*Il.* II, 576, 631).

<sup>34</sup> *Il.* VIII, 220.

<sup>35</sup> *Il.* II, 788; VII, 345, 346. Cf. p. 294.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Leaf, *The Iliad*, I, p. 109, note on l. 788.

<sup>37</sup> *Iliad*, II, p. 674, note on l. 504.

<sup>38</sup> *Il.* VIII, 490.

<sup>39</sup> *Il.* XVIII, 245, 246.

<sup>40</sup> *Od.* VIII, 5. It is quite natural that in maritime cities such as this the *agoré* would be situated close to the port. Glotz (*op. cit.*, p. 51) and Mayer (*Jahrbuch*, XL, 1925, p. 80) also assume that the *agoré* and the sanctuary of Poseidon were regularly associated and situated together. This may be so, since the *agoré* had always strong religious connections and Poseidon would naturally be the great god of maritime cities. But it is not proved by this one case of Scheria and a very doubtful connection at Pylos (Cf. pp. 25 ff.).

There, too, is their *agoré*, καλὸν Ποσιδῆιον ἀμφίς, fitted with huge stones set deep in the earth.<sup>41</sup>

Again, it is thus described:

the *agoré* . . . which was builded for them hard by their ships. Thither they came and sat down on the polished stones close by one another.<sup>42</sup>

Something can be learned from these passages about the actual form of the Phaeacian *agoré*. It was not merely an open level area, like the agora in later Greek cities, but an artificial construction. The stones used for its buildings were too large to be carried<sup>43</sup> and apparently had been quarried.<sup>44</sup> They can scarcely have been used for any purpose other than in a surrounding temenos wall, or, more likely, in a heavy retaining wall to sustain the weight of an earth embankment.<sup>45</sup> The seats would then have been arranged on the artificial slope thus constructed.

The meeting place of the assembly at Pylos presents a

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<sup>41</sup> *Od.* VI, 266-268. The relative positions of the *agoré* and the Poseidon are not clear from Homer's description. Most commentators take it that the Poseidon was a temple set in the *agoré*, and so translate: "And there was the *agoré* about the beautiful Poseidon" (Merry and Riddell, *Homer's Odyssey*, I, p. 276; Faesi, *Homer's Odyssee*, I, p. 177; cf. conjectural plan of the city of the Phaeacians in Merry, *Odyssey*, I, p. 80 of commentary). But the sanctuary of Poseidon at that time is more likely to have been simply an altar and a surrounding precinct. Hence, the *agoré* may actually have been located within the temenos of the Poseidon. 'Ἀμφίς may have an adverbial as well as a prepositional meaning, and the whole phrase could be parenthetical. Then the passage would mean: "And there is their *agoré*, the Poseidon [is] about it" (cf. Ebeling, *op. cit.*, s. v. "ἀμφίς").

<sup>42</sup> *Od.* VIII, 5, 6.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. the wall around Eumaeus' house (*Od.* XIV, 10).

<sup>44</sup> Cf. those in the Cyclops' yard (*Od.* IX, 185). From this description, the term "Cyclopean" is applied to early walls built of great irregular blocks, such as those at Tiryns and Mycenae.

<sup>45</sup> Suggestions that λάεσαι ἀραυῖα means "well-paved" (Curtius, *Zur Geschichte des Wegebaus*, p. 31) or "fitted with stone seats" (Faesi, *op. cit.*, p. 177) are unlikely. Neither can there be any question of a roofed building.

problem. Moreau thinks it was situated just outside the gates of the palace of Nestor,<sup>46</sup> where white polished stones were set.<sup>47</sup> Polished stones are, to be sure, mentioned in connection with the Homeric *agoré*, but in this passage there is no question of an assembly of the people; only Nestor's sons, Telemachus, and his companions were present. Glotz sees in another passage a description of the Pylian *agoré*.<sup>48</sup> Homer relates:

Here the townsfolk on the shore of the sea were offering sacrifice of coal-black bulls to the dark-haired Earth-shaker. Nine benches [*ἔδραι*] there were, and five hundred sat on each, and in each they held nine bulls ready for sacrifice.<sup>49</sup>

This same assembly is referred to a little further on as the "gathering and sessions [*ἄγυρις τε καὶ ἔδραι*] of the men of Pylos."<sup>50</sup> The word *ἄγυρις* in Homeric usage refers to any assembly,<sup>51</sup> while *ἀγορή* refers to the formal gathering of the political assembly.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, the whole description of this assembly, with its emphasis on feasting and sacrifice, suggests a primarily religious celebration rather than a political assembly.<sup>53</sup> Hence, Glotz is not warranted in using this passage as evidence that the *agoré* at Pylos was "an amphitheater with nine tiers of seats, each capable of holding five hundred people."

<sup>46</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 219.

<sup>47</sup> *Od.* III, 406.

<sup>48</sup> *Od.* III, 5-8.

<sup>49</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

<sup>50</sup> *Od.* III, 31.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Liddell and Scott, *op. cit.*, s. v. "*ἄγυρις*"; it is the Aeolic form for *ἀγορή*.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Faesi, *op. cit.*, note on p. 60; Merry and Riddell, *op. cit.*, note on p. 95; Ebeling, *op. cit.*, s. v. *ἀγορή*. In Classical Greek, *ἄγυρις* with the prefix *πρ* is practically confined in meaning to religious gatherings.

<sup>53</sup> The close connection with Poseidon both here and in Scheria will be noted later. Strabo (VIII, 16 = C 344), in his effort to settle the question of the situation of Homer's Pylos, mentions a temple of Samian Poseidon at which he thinks Homer laid the scene of this assembly. In view of the recent excavations at Messenian Pylos, this is very unlikely. Cf. *A. J. A.*, XLVI, 1942, pp. 538-545.

Yet, because it is sometimes thought to refer to a political assembly and because of a certain confusion which exists in its translation, the passage must be discussed somewhat further. The confusion hinges on the meaning of the word ἔδραι, which is understood by most scholars to mean "benches,"<sup>54</sup> but by others "companies, messes, or parties."<sup>55</sup> There seems to be no parallel in Greek usage of any period for the second meaning of the word, and so it is probably to be rejected.<sup>56</sup> Yet, if it means "benches," it is impossible to imagine any assembly place in which each bench was long enough to hold five hundred spectators. This would mean that the benches had a length of *ca.* 240 m., and, even if the ends were curved so that the extremities were brought nearer to the central area, such dimensions are simply out of the question. It is evidently this difficulty which has driven some translators to seek a different meaning for the word. The only way in which the description may be understood is by adopting the MS variant πεντήκοντα for πεντακόσιοι, so that there would be fifty, not five hundred, spectators in each row.<sup>57</sup>

Tritsch<sup>58</sup> calls attention to the fact that there are nine rows of seats in the Theatral Area at Phaestus, the same number at Pylos, and also in a construction (to be discussed later) in the Agora at Lato in Crete.<sup>59</sup> He insists that, in view of the magical properties of the number nine, this must be significant. The number was obviously dictated at Pylos, however, by the fact that there were nine towns under Nestor's rule. The people from each would appear to have occupied one row of

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<sup>54</sup> Glotz, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Faesi, *op. cit.*, note on p. 58; Bérard, *L'Odyssée*, I, p. 54.

<sup>55</sup> Merry and Riddell, *op. cit.*, p. 93; Murray, in Loeb edition of the *Odyssey*, I, pp. 69, 71.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Ebeling, *op. cit.* and Liddell and Scott, *op. cit.*, s. v. "ἔδρα."

<sup>57</sup> Cf. MS H, and critical note in Bérard, *op. cit.*, p. 54. The reading πεντακόσιοι has been retained by most editors mainly because the number thus given (9 x 500) equals the number of the followers of Nestor present at Troy, i. e. 90 ships with 50 men in each (*Il.* II, 602, 719).

<sup>58</sup> *Jahreshefte*, XXVII, 1932, p. 100.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. pp. 32-35.

seats, just as each town sent ten ships to join the Greek force against Troy. Perfectly natural reasons were very likely responsible for the number of rows in the other cases also.

A part of the description of the decoration on Achilles' shield contains important information about the *agoré*. We read:

But the folk were gathered in the place of assembly [*ἀγορή*]; for there a strife had arisen, and two men were striving about the blood-price of a man slain; the one avowed that he had paid all, declaring his cause to the people, and the other refused to accept aught; and each was fain to win the issue on the word of a daysman. Moreover, the folk were cheering both, showing favor to this side and to that. And heralds held back the folk, and the elders were sitting upon polished stones in the sacred circle, holding in their hands the staves of the loud-voiced heralds. Therewith they would spring up and give judgment, each in turn.<sup>60</sup>

This description is not limited to a single *agoré* but must be understood, as the other scenes depicted on the shield, to be typical of those in all the cities of Greece at that time. Some commentators, following Schömann,<sup>61</sup> believe that this sacred circle was a separate space (*Raum*) in the *agoré*.<sup>62</sup> But it is clear, as the majority of scholars have seen, that this description refers to the auditorium where the political assemblies actually convened, i. e. the *agoré* itself. Therefore, the information in this passage must be treated along with that which has already been considered.<sup>63</sup>

There was in the *agoré*, according to this passage, a sacred circle in which the elders sat. Some have thought that the whole *agoré* was within the sacred circle,<sup>64</sup> others that the

<sup>60</sup> *Il.* XVIII, 497-505.

<sup>61</sup> *Griechische Alterthümer*, I, p. 29.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Hentze-Ameis, *Homers Ilias*, II (2), p. 130, note on l. 504; Faesi, *Homers Iliade*, III, p. 254, note on l. 504.

<sup>63</sup> Such passages as *Il.* XI, 807 and *Od.* XII, 439, 440 prove that political and judicial business was carried on in the same place of meeting. The polished stones are mentioned in connection with both, but they seem to have had special significance in connection with the dispensing of justice.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Van Leeuwen, *op. cit.*, p. 374. He puts forward the theory

circle was in the center and that the seats of honor were ranged all around it,<sup>65</sup> and still others that there was a circular outer limit and also an interior circle.<sup>66</sup> Leaf understands "a semicircular seat of stone, apparently sacred to the administration of justice."<sup>67</sup> He sensibly realized that in an open-air public meeting place which had a permanent form and seating arrangement the speaker is not likely to have had part of his audience behind him. Hence, there would have been no point in going to the trouble of constructing the *agoré* in a completely circular form, for those in the one half would have been unable to hear. The most reasonable reconstruction from this description would be a relatively small circle with the stone seats on that part of the circumference to which the speakers' voices could conveniently reach.<sup>68</sup> The benches for the rest of the audience would be ranged behind these.<sup>69</sup>

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that there was first only a great circle, then a wall was built around it, as at Mycenae, and from this was evolved the "Tholos," as at Gortyna. Cf. also the theories of Schliemann and Keramopoulos discussed on pp. 31-32.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Glotz, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Charbonneaux, *B.C.H.*, XLIX, 1925, p. 169. An interesting passage from Dio Chrysostom (Discourse XXXVI, 17) describes an out-of-the-way Greek city, Borysthenes, which he visited on his way to the country of the Getae: "They all set out together for the temple of Zeus, where they are wont to meet in council. And while the eldest and the most distinguished and the officials sat on benches in a circle, the rest of the company stood close by, for there was a large open space before the temple." He then speaks of the fact that the men were all bearded and is prompted by this to make the following remark: "A philosophic man would have been very much pleased at the sight, all being conducted in the ancient manner which Homer describes of the Greeks." If he had remembered his Homer better, he would have found their arrangements for political assemblies equally reminiscent of the good old days.

<sup>66</sup> Moreau, *loc. cit.*, p. 220.

<sup>67</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, p. 253.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Ebeling, *op. cit.*, s. v. "ἐν" for the meaning "on," as well as "in."

<sup>69</sup> There is no evidence as to whether the seats were curved or



The audience in all these places of meeting was regularly seated.<sup>70</sup> Numerous direct references prove this,<sup>71</sup> especially one passage where it is recorded that

[the Trojans] gathered themselves in assembly or ever they be-thought them to sup. Upon their feet they stood while the gathering was held, neither had any man heart to sit; for they all were holden of fear, seeing Achilles was come forth.<sup>72</sup>

Further, there is evidence that they had special seating accommodation (*ἔδραι*) in the *agoré*.<sup>73</sup> That this connotes seats or benches of artificial construction, not merely any convenient place on the ground, is certain from a study of the word as used in the poems.<sup>74</sup> The front seats were reserved for the most important men.<sup>75</sup> In two passages, seats made of polished stone (*λίθου ἑστροί*) are mentioned in connection with the *agoré*.<sup>76</sup> In the first case they are expressly stated to have been reserved at the front for the elders, and in the other it is implied that King Alcinous and his associates regularly used them. The specification that these special seats were made of stone perhaps implies that the benches

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straight. Advantage would be taken of natural slopes, but the description of the *agoré* of the Phaeacians suggests additional retaining walls which may have supported the ends of curving seats. In any case, the form of the *agoré* as outlined above conforms in essentials with that of the theater, where, centuries later, the political assemblies of most of the cities regularly met. The question of their possible connection is beyond the scope of this study.

<sup>70</sup> There is no evidence for the widespread belief that the audience in Greek political assemblies of any period regularly remained standing during lengthy proceedings. Cicero (*Pro Flacco*, 15 and 16) contrasts the discipline of Roman assemblies, which always stood in soldierly fashion, with the heedlessness of a seated gathering, by means of which a Greek state transacted business.

<sup>71</sup> *Il.* VII, 414; IX, 13; XIX, 50; *Od.* I, 372.

<sup>72</sup> *Il.* XVIII, 245-247.

<sup>73</sup> *Il.* II, 99, 211; *Od.* III, 6, 7; VIII, 16.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Ebeling, *op. cit.* and Liddell and Scott, *op. cit.*, s. v. "*ἔδρα*"; and especially *Od.* III, 429.

<sup>75</sup> *Il.* XIX, 50.

<sup>76</sup> *Il.* XVIII, 504; *Od.* VIII, 6.

of the rest of the audience were of wood. The fact that the elders sat on polished stones seems to have some connection with their powers to dispense justice. The seats of honor were also called *thokoi*, and from them the word was extended in meaning, so that in a few passages in the *Odyssey* it refers to a political body.<sup>77</sup>

Several extant arrangements of the Mycenaean period have been claimed to agree with the descriptions of the Homeric *agoré*. Schliemann so designated the well-known grave circle at Mycenae.<sup>78</sup> According to his theory, this was a great circular bench for the audience in the *agoré*, and a large stone found at the center might have served as a platform or bema. He mentions instances of graves being found in the center of the agora in several cities of a later period.

Also, at Aexone in Attica, Keramopoullos discovered part of the foundations of a large circular construction, *ca.* 30 m. in diameter, with a rectangular exedra on the side next to the sea.<sup>79</sup> The great size of the stones laid in a double row is said to prove that it was built at an early period.<sup>80</sup> The situation,

<sup>77</sup> *Θάκος* (Ionic *θῶκος*) means primarily a seat or chair of state.

<sup>78</sup> *Mycenae*, pp. 124-130. Cf. also Wace, *loc. cit.*, pp. 103-126. This construction, *ca.* 30 m. in diameter, is formed by a double row of upright stone slabs set *ca.* 1.30 m. apart. These were originally covered over at the top with horizontal slabs, and rectangular sockets for transverse wooden struts can be seen in the tops of many of the upright slabs. The space between the two rows of orthostates is supposed to have been originally filled with stones and earth. The entrance, *ca.* 2.50 m. wide, is at the north, and here the wall of slabs is *ca.* 1.50 m. high. The present ground level inside is somewhat lower, but a weathering line in the wall just east of the entrance is at the level of the threshold. Also, in the southeastern section a single row of horizontal stone slabs was discovered inside the upright blocks at this level. It is assumed that this row originally extended all the way around. The grave circle dates at the beginning of L H III, but the graves are earlier and the level was formerly much lower.

<sup>79</sup> *Praktika*, 1919, pp. 44-46, Fig. 4.

<sup>80</sup> It is hazardous to date a construction on such evidence alone, and there is no mention of other confirmatory indications.

now only some 10 m. from the sea, and the circular shape led him to believe that these are the remains of a Homeric *agoré*. He supposed that it had mud-brick walls above these foundations and that in this structure the fishermen sold their produce. The exedra-like part, *ca.* 9 m. x 12 m., was perhaps used for the meetings of the citizens.

These identifications are totally incapable of proof and have not been generally accepted. It has been submitted above that Homer's description seems to refer to a small circle within the *agoré*. But, even were it proved that the whole Homeric *agoré* was circular, it would by no means necessarily follow that the circular constructions at Mycenae and Aexone were *agorai*. The dimensions of the surrounding wall at Mycenae are impossible for a bench.<sup>81</sup> The fact that the construction at Aexone stood near the sea proves nothing in itself, for other buildings must have had such a situation in maritime towns. Moreover, the suggestion that a political assembly met in the exedra, which measures only 9 m. x 12 m., is out of the question, even for a very small town.<sup>82</sup> It is much more likely that this, like the circle at Mycenae, was merely a low temenos wall enclosing the graves of important people.<sup>83</sup>

It is maintained by Tritsch that the Agora of Lato in Crete is an actual illustration of Homer's description of the *agoré*.<sup>84</sup> It consists of an open space, with a temple in the center, por-

<sup>81</sup> Frazer (*Pausanias' Description of Greece*, III, p. 104) points out this objection, and he is also sceptical about the Homeric *agoré* having been round. But he, too, goes wrong through his understanding of it as a place where commerce was carried on, as in the later *agora*.

<sup>82</sup> Keramopoulos takes it for granted that the main function of the *agoré* was for marketing, and so he would have fish sold within the sacred circle!

<sup>83</sup> Similar circles of stone were built around groups of cist graves found by Dörpfeld on the island of Leucas (cf. *Sechster Brief über Leukas Ithaka*, pp. 9 ff.). Also, inside a circular stone wall at Vari in Attica there were found graves containing pottery of the second half of the seventh century B. C.

<sup>84</sup> *Jahreshefte*, XXVII, 1932, p. 83.

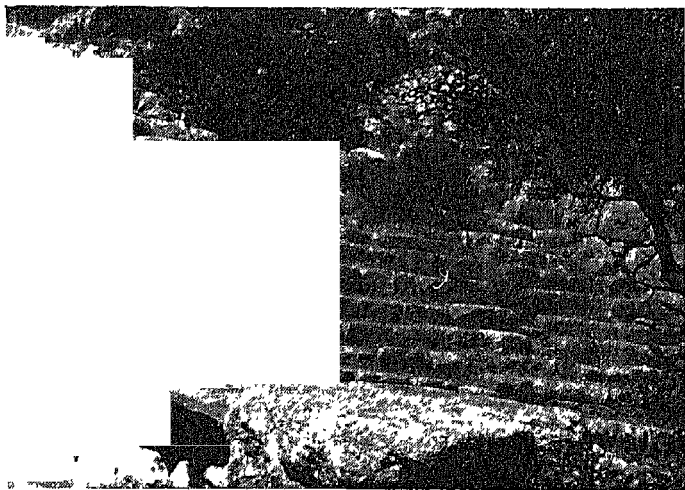


Fig 5. Lato, from south.



Fig 6 Lato, from south.

tics and exedrae on three sides, and a series of nine steps on the remaining north side (Figs. 5-6).<sup>85</sup> Later towers and rooms for religious purposes have cut into these steps, but at one time they probably extended along the whole north side. At present they are *ca.* 8.65 m. in length, with risers of irregular height varying from 0.20 m. to 0.36 m., and with a width varying from 0.36 m. to 0.56 m. Two stairways are placed fairly symmetrically in the series. They are *ca.* 0.45 m. wide, and neither is exactly straight or of absolutely constant width throughout. The western one is complete and shows the same awkward technique as that at Phaestus.<sup>86</sup> These stairways lead up to two rooms, identified as a *Prytaneion* and a *Hestiatorion*.<sup>87</sup>

Tritsch is justified in understanding that the Homeric *agoré* consisted of a permanent auditorium and, in some cases at least, of an open area with altars and perhaps a shrine in connection with it. But the arrangement at Lato is scarcely as exact an example as he believes. It is now clear that the earliest constructions in Lato do not go back beyond the Archaic period, and some features are as late as the third century B. C. Hence, it cannot be a contemporaneous example of a Homeric *agoré*, although it might conceivably carry on a tradition. Moreover, the series of steps does not appear to have been intended primarily as an auditorium. The stair-

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<sup>85</sup> Demargne, *B. O. H.*, XXV, 1901, pp. 284-307; *ibid.*, XXVII, 1903, pp. 206-232, Pls. IV, V. Kirsten (*Jahreshefte*, XIV, 1938, p. 320) also thinks that this arrangement was an auditorium from which citizens watched holy rites.

<sup>86</sup> The width of the steps is the same as that of the rest of the series, and the steepness of the gradient is lessened by cutting progressively deeper into each of the regular blocks as the stairway proceeds upward. Thus, there is no cutting down in the bottom step, but there is 0.40 m. cut out of the fifth. Above this, deeper cutting was impossible, and to continue the same gradient an extra step had to be added. Hence, the stairway has ten steps in all, and it is likely that the somewhat battered eastern stairway originally had the same number.

<sup>87</sup> The door into the eastern of these rooms is *ca.* 1 m. east of the line of the corresponding stairway.

ways leading up to the doors behind may be paralleled by those added in temples and propylaea where the steps elsewhere were too high for regular use, and the dimensions show that the construction as a whole is not suitable for an auditorium. The width of the set-backs averages 0.45 m. and is as little as 0.36 m., while the minimum practical width for seats has been estimated at 0.65 m.<sup>88</sup> The only way they could have been used as seats would be to leave room between each of the occupants for the feet of the one behind, or else to use one row for sitting and the row below for the feet. Both expedients would have been very wasteful of space. There would be accommodation for only *ca.* eighty-five persons, while Homer describes the *agoré* as providing seats for the whole male population of a town. A considerably larger number could, of course, have been accommodated if the audience stood on these steps. This is quite conceivable in the case of a crowd gathered to watch a relatively short dance or other religious ceremony, but it is unlikely in the case of a political assembly in which a session might last several hours.

Tritsch also supposes that the courtyards in the palaces at Tiryns and Mycenae were the meeting places of their political assemblies, i. e. the *agoré*.<sup>89</sup> He thus sees continuity between the Minoan and Greek periods, for the Minoan Theatral Areas were closely connected with the palace court, and there is some evidence in literature that in the early Greek cities political deliberations took place on the acropolis, where the king's palace was situated.<sup>90</sup> He believes that the same was true in the intervening Mycenaean period and brings forward the case of Troy, where the assembly gathered "in the lofty city of Ilium by the gates of Priam." But Troy's Anatolian connections have already been suggested as a reason for such

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<sup>88</sup> Cf. p. 16; also the photograph of peasants seated on these steps (Fig. 6).

<sup>89</sup> *Jahreshefte*, XXVII, 1932, p. 103.

<sup>90</sup> Meeting of the councils were certainly held there, even in later times (cf. p. 154), but there is no certain information for the same being true of the assemblies.

a meeting place, and all Homer's evidence for other cities under normal conditions points to the *agoré* having been apart from the palace and, presumably, from the citadel also. There is no positive evidence that the courts at Tiryns and Mycenae were used as *agorai*, and it is unlikely that they would have been under normal conditions.

## CHAPTER IV

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### THE CITY ASSEMBLIES IN POST-HOMERIC TIMES

#### A. *Literary and Epigraphical Evidence*

##### (1) *Archaic*

The word "agora" (or the Ionic *agoré*) seems to have begun to acquire the meaning "market place," i. e. a place of commerce, soon after the period in which the Homeric poems were written. Perhaps the earliest extant reference to it in this sense occurs in an epigram attached to the Homeric writings.<sup>1</sup> From this time onward its increasing frequency gives an indication of the rapidity with which the commercial element was becoming predominant. A new word had then to be found to designate the political assembly, since "agora" no longer connoted exclusively, or even primarily, this body or the place where it met. A variety of expressions was invented to fill the need, but in general ἐκκλησία was adopted in the Attic and Ionic dialects, and ἀπέλλα or ἄλλα in the Doric.

Yet it is clear from survivals of the earlier meaning that there was a continuous tradition from Homeric to Classical times. The word "agora" was used as late as the third century B. C. to denote the assembly of Attic demes,<sup>2</sup> tribes,<sup>3</sup> meetings of Athenian archons,<sup>4</sup> and of religious organiza-

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<sup>1</sup> *Homeric Epigrams*, 14, 5 (D. B. Monro, Oxford, 1896).

<sup>2</sup> *I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 188, ll. 9, 20; *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1202, l. 1; Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, I, p. 327, l. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1140, ll. 4, 5; *ibid.*, 1141, ll. 6, 7; Aeschines, *Against Otesiphon*, 27. These assemblies of tribes were held on the Acropolis, and the stelae recording them were placed in the *hieron* of the respective tribal heroes there. It may be that the actual assemblies were held in the various precincts. Cf. *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1144, 1148, 1152, 1157.

<sup>4</sup> Demosthenes, *Against Leochares*, 36.



tions.<sup>5</sup> Delphic decrees also retained it in their preambles into the second century B. C.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, something of the religious association of the Homeric *agoré* was retained in connection with the later assembly places. The joint assembly of the Halicarnassians and the Salmacitae met with the tyrant Lygdamis in the "sacred Agora" (*ἱερὰ ἀγορά*) in Halicarnassus.<sup>7</sup> The same expression occurs some four centuries later in connection with a stele which was to be set up in the "sacred Agora" in Demetrias in Thessaly.<sup>8</sup> There is also some reason for connecting a circle with the agora of later times.<sup>9</sup> This is scarcely enough evidence, however, to prove that, since in Classical and Hellenistic times there was a

<sup>5</sup> *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1263, ll. 2, 3; *ibid.*, 1277, l. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Fouilles de Delphes, passim*. The usual formula is: *ἐν ἀγορᾷ τελεῖω σὺν πάφοις ταῖς ἐννόμοις*.

<sup>7</sup> Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques*, 451, l. 4. Tod (*Greek Historical Inscriptions*, p. 36) dates this inscription 460-455 B. C. In his commentary, he remarks: "Of this sacred agora we know nothing."

<sup>8</sup> *I. G.*, IX<sup>2</sup>, 1105, l. 3; cf. *ibid.*, 1106, l. 10 for putting up an honorary inscription.

<sup>9</sup> Plutarch (*Aristides*, 7, 4) writes that in Athens in the process of ostracism one wrote on a sherd and "carried it to a certain place in the Agora which was barricaded off in a circular form [*κύκλῳ*] by means of railings." Euripides (*Orestes*, 919), too, describes a man who minds his own business as "one who seldom frequents the city and the circle of the agora." In Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*, 161, Jebb takes the phrase *Ἀρτεμιν ἀκυκλόνειν* ἀγορᾶς θρόνον εὐκλέα θάσσει to mean "the throne consisting of the round market place." He compares the use of the word for fish market. But the latter is a very late use, and the former may better be understood as meaning a semicircular or circular seat (*exedra*) or statue base dedicated to the goddess in the agora. Another passage (Thucydides, III, 74), *τὰς οἰκίας τὰς ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς*, is generally translated "the houses around the agora." Also, a stele was to be set up in Erythrae in the fifth century B. C. "in the circle of Zeus Agoraeus." Wilhelm (*Jahreshefte*, XII, 1909, pp. 134, 135) thinks this designated a special round place in the Agora, and he compares a decree of the deme of Cholargus (*I. G.*, II, 604), where a stele is to be set up *ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλέῳ τῷ ἐν κύκλῳ ἐν Χολαργέων*. (*I. G.* II<sup>2</sup>, 1248 omits the second τῷ.) This latter, however, need have nothing to do with the agora.

sacred agora in some cities and a circle in connection with the agora in others, the sacred circle was carried over from the Homeric *agoré*. Yet it is possible that there is some connection. Aristotle recommends the Thessalian *ἐλευθέρα ἀγορά*, "where the assembly place is separate and free from all buying and selling."<sup>10</sup> The sacred Agoras of Halicarnassus and Demetrias may well have denoted such spots.

There are several other cases where the flood of commercial activity in the agora is known to have caused the assembly to move to a quieter place to hold its sessions.<sup>11</sup> Plutarch credits Lycurgus with the prudent policy of convening the Spartan assembly outside the city, where there were no market buildings and wise deliberation was possible.<sup>12</sup> Several

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<sup>10</sup> *Politics*, IV (VII), 12, 3.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, I, 1932, p. 109. There were, apparently, earlier attempts to find a quiet meeting place in Athens. Aristotle (*Constitution of Athens*, 15, 4) and Polyaeus (I, 21, 2) mention two apparently extraordinary meeting places of the Athenian assembly in the sixth century. The story concerns Pisistratus' ruse to disarm the people. He ordered them to assemble under arms at the Anaceum (or the Theseum, according to the former), and purposely lowered his voice so that they could not hear. He then proposed that the assembly move up to the propylon of the Acropolis, and, while they were there, attendants seized their weapons. Little faith can be placed in the details of this account, but it does perhaps show that the assembly could be convened in various places under special circumstances. Presumably, the first place in which they met was level, while they would make use of the steps of the propylon with a convenient slope, and there would be little noise from the lower city; so they might well believe. Pisistratus' excuse that they would hear better there.

<sup>12</sup> *Lycurgus*, 6, 4 and 5. His account is as follows: "This is the way it [an oracle from Delphi] runs: . . . from time to time 'apellazein' between Babyca and Cnacion . . . , and 'apellazein' means to assemble the people. . . . The Babyca is now Cheimarrus, and the Cnacion Oenus; but Aristotle says that Cnacion is a river, and Babyca a bridge. Between these they held their assemblies, having neither halls [*πασράδες*] nor any other kind of building for the purpose. For by such things Lycurgus thought good counsel was not promoted, but rather discouraged, since the serious purposes of an assembly were rendered foolish and futile by vain thoughts, as

cities had two or more agoras, but there is no direct evidence that one was for commerce and one for the assembly place.<sup>13</sup>

It is generally believed, however, that in post-Homeric times, before theaters were constructed (usually apart from the agora), the political assembly of most cities continued to hold its regular meetings in the agora. There are few specific references to such assemblies in extant literature and inscriptions, but one would not expect many contemporaneous records, and later authors writing of that period would be apt to take for granted conditions existing in their own time. Plutarch implies that an assembly was held in the Agora at Athens in the time of Pisistratus,<sup>14</sup> and Harpocration<sup>15</sup> says that the Athenian assembly, which was then called "agora" rather than "ecclesia," used to meet in the "ancient agora" (*ἀρχαία ἀγορά*).<sup>16</sup>

But the agora in its ordinary form in cities of the Classical period and later would have been ill-suited to regular political assemblies, which often lasted several hours and required some sort of fixed seating accommodations. Moreover, the difficulty of seeing the speaker when all were standing on the same level would have been intolerable, unless there was a raised

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they gazed upon statues and paintings, or scenic embellishments, or extravagantly decorated roofs of council halls [*βουλευτηρίων*]."<sup>17</sup> Glotz (*The Greek City*, p. 83) mentions no authority for his statement that here the kings and *gerontes* had special seats, while the people sat on benches or on the ground. Such an arrangement is, however, quite probable.

<sup>13</sup> Thebes (Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex*, 20); Notium (*J. H. S.*, XLI, 1921, p. 268); Athens (Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, pp. 116, 319; Ferguson, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 12, 55; cf. pp. 41-42).

<sup>14</sup> *Solon*, 30, 1 and 2.

<sup>15</sup> *S. v.* "Ἀφροδίτη Πάρθεμος." Cf. discussion of this passage on pp. 41-42.

<sup>16</sup> At a later period, when it is clear that the theater was the regular assembly place in most cities, Euphron assembled the people of Sicyon in the Agora (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, VII, 1, 45). Cicero also mentions an assembly (*conventus*) in the Agora (Forum) at Syracuse (*Actio Secunda in Verrem*, IV, 67). With these exceptions, assemblies specified as having been held in the agora are quite out of the ordinary and usually of a military character.

platform (*βῆμα*). But the building of a permanent bema in the agora is unknown until the Hellenistic period, and such an arrangement seems never to have been popular with the Greeks.<sup>17</sup> The Homeric *agoré* had some sort of permanent auditorium, and by the fifth century B. C. the theater was the scene of the regular political assemblies in almost all Greek cities. In the intervening period, if the agora was the scene of these meetings, there must have been some similar provision. In fact, the arrangements in the Agoras of Lato and Dreros suggest that such was the case.<sup>18</sup>

Harpocration, in a well-known passage, quotes a speech of Apollodorus to the effect that Aphrodite gained the epithet "Pandemus" at Athens because her temple was near the "ancient agora" where all the people used to meet in their assembly.<sup>19</sup> Whether or not his explanation of the epitheton is correct, it is clear that there was a well-established tradition that the assembly at Athens used to meet near the sanctuary of Aphrodite Pandemus. It may be inferred from Pausanias' route<sup>20</sup> that this sanctuary was located on or near the west slope of the Acropolis and not far from the Propylaea.<sup>21</sup> Also, several inscriptions and terracotta figurines related to the cult have been found in this area.<sup>22</sup> This would indicate that the general situation of the early assembly place was near the west foot of the Acropolis.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Cf. pp. 84-86. Athenaeus' reference to a bema in the Athenian Agora will be discussed later (cf. pp. 60, 85). But that assembly was not a regular one, and Athenion's speech shows that the Theater was the recognized meeting place.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. pp. 32-35, 66, 67. <sup>19</sup> *Loc. cit.* <sup>20</sup> I, 22, 3.

<sup>21</sup> Lolling, who examined the sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania which was discovered in the cut for the Piraeus railroad, identified it with the sanctuary of Aphrodite Pandemus (*Delton*, 1888, p. 187; *ibid.*, 1889, pp. 126 ff.). But the evidence seems to point to a separate sanctuary on the west slope of the Acropolis.

<sup>22</sup> Foucart, *B. C. H.*, XIII, 1889, pp. 156-167; Keramopoulos, *Delton*, XII, 1929, p. 74.

<sup>23</sup> It now seems clear that the area where excavations have been going on since 1931 immediately to the north of the Areopagus, rather than that to the south, is the site of the earliest Athenian

Now there are persistent references by the lexicographers to an early wooden grandstand (*ἱκρία*) in the Athenian Agora, where the dramatic performances were given before the construction of the Theater of Dionysus Eleuthereus on the south side of the Acropolis.<sup>24</sup> There is also a tradition that this grandstand collapsed in the seventieth Olympiad during the performance of a play by Pratinas, and that after this the Theater of Dionysus was built.<sup>25</sup> Finally, a special place in the Agora was called "the orchestra," and this may well have commemorated the position of the early grandstand.<sup>26</sup> This grandstand would be the logical place for the political assembly convening in the Agora to hold its meetings. Charbonneaux suggested a connection between the Homeric

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Agora. It is not impossible to speak of a sanctuary on the west slope of the Acropolis being near this area. Harpocration seems to be distinguishing this "original" Agora from the newer Roman one to the north of the Acropolis. Yet the Hellenic Agora is actually very little nearer the west slope than is the Roman Agora. It must be confessed that the interpretation of the passage is problematical and that it is impossible to base any reliable conclusions on it.

<sup>24</sup> Suidas, s. v. "*ἱκρία*": "Wooden uprights . . . and the wooden arrangements in the theaters (*τὰ τῶν θεάτρων*) which were also found in the assemblies, for they sat on wooden arrangements. Before the Theater was constructed they nailed wooden planks together, and so they watched the plays." The scholiast on Aristophanes' *Thesmophorizusae*, 395 has almost the same words; Hesychius, s. v. "*ἱκρία*," the same information. Photius, s. v. "*ἱκρία*": "The arrangement in the Agora from which they watched the Dionysiac celebrations before the Theater in the precinct of Dionysus was constructed."

<sup>25</sup> Suidas, s. v. "*Πρατίνης*": "He staged a play against Aeschylus and Choerilus in the year of the seventieth Olympiad . . . and while his play was being exhibited it happened that the *ἱκρία* on which the spectators had taken their stand fell down, and for this reason a theater was built by the Athenians." The idea that this grandstand was erected only for the plays and taken down between times, as in the early Roman theater, is incapable of proof one way or the other. The indication here that the audience stood is contradicted in other passages.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 341, and references cited there. It is probable that the Odeum in the Agora was built on the site of this "orchestra."

assembly, with its sacred circle, and the early *ikria*, from which he believes that the permanent theater developed.<sup>27</sup> It would seem to be more than a coincidence that the traditional date of its collapse and of the shift of the drama to the Theater of Dionysus is so close to the approximate date assigned to the change of meeting place of the assembly from the Agora to the Pnyx.<sup>28</sup>

Thus, it is possible that, in the agora of Greek cities of the Archaic period, the Homeric *agoré* was continued in some such form as these *ikria*. Grandstands, apparently of wood, are depicted on three vases of the early sixth century B. C.<sup>29</sup> In these cases they are associated with games and the details are sketchy, but they show that such constructions were well known at that time. They may well have belonged primarily to the political assembly, although they were used also for watching games and spectacles taking place in the agora. This combination had already begun in the period when the *Odyssey* was written. Then, as the drama developed and began to be enacted before large crowds, such grandstands, which presumably retained the Homeric sacred circle, would be the natural place to stage plays. As time went on, the agora with its increasing commercial bustle proved an undesirable site, and usually a more secluded place was found. Sometimes, as has been noticed, a separate meeting place was used for the political assembly, but as a rule the theater served both purposes.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> *B. C. H.*, XLIX, 1925, pp. 169, 170.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. p. 70.

<sup>29</sup> *Monuments Piot*, XXXIII, 1933, pp. 48-53. These representations are strikingly reminiscent of the Cretan grandstand frescoes. Cf. also the somewhat simpler grandstands in the Stackelberg tomb (*Jahrbuch*, XXXI, 1916, Pl. VIII).

<sup>30</sup> Some permanent theaters, such as that at Mantinea, were constructed as an integral part of the agora. This arrangement would seem to fulfil the description of the Homeric *agoré*. In most cases, however, the theater was somewhat removed from the agora.

(2) *Classical and post-Classical*

Since the available evidence for Athens in the historical period is much greater than for any other city, it has seemed wisest to treat first the evolution of the meeting places of the assembly there, and afterwards to introduce the evidence for other cities.

ATHENS. During the fifth and most of the fourth century B. C. the Pnyx was the regular meeting place for Athenian political assemblies. This is abundantly clear from the literature of the period, especially from the plays of Aristophanes and the speeches of the orators. Oddly enough, there is extant no single inscription which actually names this place of meeting for an assembly of any period in the history of the city. The practice of recording in inscribed decrees the place of meeting of the assembly which passed them seems to have begun somewhat after the middle of the fourth century B. C., and even then the Pnyx was so taken for granted as the regular meeting place that the one word "assembly" (*ἐκκλησία*) in the prescripts of decrees passed there was all that was deemed necessary.<sup>81</sup>

At least six thousand citizens were required to be present for the assembly to grant citizenship,<sup>82</sup> immunity to propose abrogation of an existing law,<sup>83</sup> and for the process of ostracism. It is doubtful if the Pnyx could accommodate a crowd of this size, and some other meeting place seems indicated. For ostracism, at least, the people voted not in the Pnyx, but in the Agora.<sup>84</sup> Railings were set around a circular area, and the archons and councillors were present to count the votes, which the people cast by tribes. This area was called the *περισσόφισμα* and was situated near the altar of the twelve

<sup>81</sup> For a full discussion of the archaeological and literary evidence in connection with the Pnyx, cf. pp. 87-80, and for the epigraphical material, cf. pp. 56-60.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde*, p. 945.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 987.

<sup>84</sup> Plutarch, *Aristides*, 7; Philochorus, 79 B, in *F. H. G.*, I, 396; Pollux, *Onomasticon*, VIII, 20.

gods.<sup>35</sup> This altar has been located in the northern part of the Agora, and the place where the *ostrakophoreia* was conducted cannot have been far away.<sup>36</sup>

A number of assemblies were held in extraordinary places during the troubled years at the end of the fifth century B. C. Early in 411 a meeting was called,

at Colonus, where is a precinct sacred to Poseidon lying at a distance of about ten stadia outside the city.<sup>37</sup>

In it immunity was granted to abrogate existing laws, and the Four Hundred were consequently chosen in place of the democratic government. Ferguson believes that the oligarchs convened the assembly there so as to have only the hoplites and cavalry present, since he thinks the other citizens would have been afraid to venture outside the walls.<sup>38</sup> It may also indicate that it was unlawful to grant such immunity in the regular assembly places.<sup>39</sup> Later in the same year the hoplites in Piraeus held an assembly in "the Theater of Dionysus at Munychia" (τὸ πρὸς τῇ Μουνυχίᾳ Διονυσιακὸν θέατρον). There they resolved to march on Athens against the Four Hundred, but when they reached the city they were prevailed upon to agree to participate in an assembly on a fixed day "in the precinct of Dionysus" (ἐν τῷ Διονυσίῳ).<sup>40</sup>

The meeting at Colonus was quite an extraordinary one, called by a body of soldiers. The latter two are the earliest extant references to two of the places of meeting which later completely replaced the Pnyx. In the case of the assembly held in the precinct of Dionysus, there seems to have been a feeling among the oligarchs that meetings of the assembly on

<sup>35</sup> (Plutarch), *Lives of the Ten Orators*, 847 A.

<sup>36</sup> Meritt, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 358, 359.

<sup>37</sup> Thucydides, VIII, 67.

<sup>38</sup> *C. A. II.*, V, p. 328.

<sup>39</sup> This would support the suggestion that the assembly which granted immunity, like that voting on ostracism, did not vote in the Pnyx.

<sup>40</sup> Thucydides, VIII, 93, 94. This meeting was also called "the assembly in [the precinct] of Dionysus" (ἡ ἐν Διονύσου ἐκκλησία).



the Pnyx were to be avoided. Thucydides records that later on this same year:

The Athenians . . . called meetings of the assembly—one immediately, which was called to meet on that occasion for the first time in the place called Pnyx, where at other times also they had been wont to meet.<sup>41</sup>

At this meeting the Four Hundred were deposed, and the historian goes on to say that, after this, many assemblies were held—implying that they too were convened on the Pnyx. Thus, there can be little doubt that under the oligarchy a place other than the Pnyx was purposely chosen for meetings of the assembly. In all probability this place was regularly the precinct of Dionysus.

Several literary references give some information as to where the assembly was meeting during the ascendancy of the Thirty Tyrants in 405/4 B. C. The Odeum of Pericles was utilized for a meeting of the knights and hoplites whose names were in the catalogue.<sup>42</sup> This building would have been suitable enough for such a limited assembly, and it would have been possible to exclude undesirable persons. But it could scarcely have accommodated the whole Athenian assembly, and two other references to an "assembly in the Theater at Munychia" (ἐκκλησία Μουνυχίαςιν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ) during the time of the Thirty indicate that this was then the regular meeting place.<sup>43</sup> A little later, when Piraeus was occupied by Thrasybulus and his men, the democrats in the city assembled in the Agora and deposed the Thirty.<sup>44</sup>

There are two possible explanations of the apparent fact that the Pnyx was not used during the régime of the Thirty. It had not been used in the time of the Four Hundred six years before, and this has been taken to indicate that the oligarchs avoided holding assemblies in such a stronghold of

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<sup>41</sup> VIII, 97.

<sup>42</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenica*, II, 4, 9.

<sup>43</sup> Lysias, *Against Agoratus*, 32 and 55.

<sup>44</sup> Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 38, 1.

democracy. The same reasoning might well be adduced here. A remark by Plutarch, however, provides a more concrete reason. Themistocles, says his biographer, taught the people that power came into their hands from the sea, and therefore, the bema in Pnyx, which had stood so as to look off toward the sea, was afterwards turned by the Thirty tyrants so as to look inland.<sup>45</sup>

Recent excavations on the site have established the fact that there was a complete change in orientation about the end of the fifth century B. C., and the excavators are inclined to attribute this alteration to the Thirty, on the basis of Plutarch's statement and the confirmatory archaeological evidence.<sup>46</sup> In that case, the reconstruction would have been under way in 404 B. C., and in the interval another meeting place would have had to be found for the assembly. This better explains the fact that the people gathered in the Agora to depose the Thirty, rather than in the Pnyx where they had assembled to depose the Four Hundred. But, granted that they could not use the Pnyx, it is peculiar that the more convenient Theater in the precinct of Dionysus was passed over in favor of that in Munychia. This is perhaps explained by a passage in which Aristotle mentions the severity of the people afterwards toward the governors in Piraeus.<sup>47</sup> Probably the Thirty had large forces in Piraeus and found it the safest place to hold assemblies.

### *Epigraphical Formulae*

A. "Assembly in [the precinct] of Dionysus" (ἐκκλησία ἐν Διονύσειον).—An expression very close to this formula has been seen to occur first as the designation of an assembly which was fixed for 411.<sup>48</sup> It is not found again until the middle of the fourth century B. C. Thereafter, it occurs several times in literature and frequently in the prescripts of decrees inscribed on stone.

<sup>45</sup> *Themistocles*, 19, 4.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Thompson and Kourouniotes, *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 134-136.

<sup>47</sup> *Op. cit.*, 39, 6.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. p. 45.

TABLE I \*

<i>Reference</i>	<i>Month</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Formula</i>	<i>Business</i>
			<i>Ἐκκλησία ἐν Διονύσῳ</i>	
1. <i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>a</sup> , 223, B, 11. 5, 6	[Elaphebolion]	343/2	<i>ἐν τῇ ἐν Διονύσῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ</i>	council honored for conduct of festival
2. <i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>a</sup> , 345, II, 6, 7	Elaphebolion	332/1	<i>ἐκκλησία [ἐν Διονύσῳ]</i>	honoring a Plataean
3. <i>Hesperia</i> , VIII, 1939, p. 26, no. 6, 1, 6	Elaphebolion	332/1	<i>ἐκκλησία ἐν Δι[ονύσῳ]</i>	honoring an Abderitan
4. <i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>a</sup> , 348, 1, 4	Elaphebolion	331/0	<i>ἐκκλησία [α ἐν Διονύσῳ]</i>	honoring an actor in festival
5. <i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>a</sup> , 372, 1, 6	Elaphebolion	322/1	<i>ἐκκλησία ἐν Διονύσῳ</i>	proxeny decree
6. <i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>a</sup> , 350, II, 5, 6 <i>Ἀνθεστ[ηρίως]</i>		318/7	<i>ἐκκλησία ἐν Δι[ονύσῳ]</i>	honoring citizens of Epidamnus and Apollonia
7. <i>Hesperia</i> , IV, 1935, p. 35, no. 5, 1, 2	Gamelion	318/7	<i>[ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐν Διονύσῳ]</i>	honoring <i>epikletoi</i> for putting to death a public enemy
8. <i>Hesperia</i> , V, 1936, p. 201, II, 6, 7	Thargelion	305/4	<i>[ἐκκλησία ἐν Διονύσῳ]</i>	honoring man who procured grain (?) from Asia
9. <i>Hesperia</i> , V, 1936, p. 415, no. 12, 1, 7	Posideion	302/1	<i>[ἐκκλησία ἐν Διονύσῳ]</i>	?
10. <i>Hesperia</i> , VII, 1938, p. 102, no. 18, 1, 19	[Elaphebolion]	284/3	<i>ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν Διονύσῳ</i>	honoring an archon for organizing festival
11. <i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>a</sup> , 780, 1, 4	Elaphebolion	252/1	<i>ἐκκλησία ἐν Διονύσῳ</i>	honoring one who embellished workshop of Dionysus
12. <i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>a</sup> , 781, 1, 5	Elaphebolion	250/49	<i>ἐκκλησία ἐν Διονύσῳ</i>	same as above
13. <i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>a</sup> , 896, II, 5, 31, 32	Elaphebolion	ca. 186/5	<i>ἐκκλησία ἐν Διονύσῳ</i>	honoring those responsible for procession at festival
14. <i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>a</sup> , 920, 1, 3	[Elaphebolion]	beginning of 2nd cent.	<i>[ἐκκλησία ἐν Δι[ονύσῳ]</i>	honoring archons for sacrifice to Dionysus and other gods
15. <i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>a</sup> , 1019, 1, 3	[Metageitnion]	141/0	<i>[ἐκκλησία ἐν Διονύσῳ]</i>	renew inventory of votives in sanctuary of Aesculapius

\* In the tables we follow the dates of Pritchett-Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*.

Köhler distinguished between this formula and "assembly in the Theater" (ἐκκλησία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ) by supposing that "assembly in the precinct of Dionysus" means an assembly held in the temple of Dionysus or in the precinct of the temple, or else that it is the ancient formula designating the first assembly held after the greater Dionysia.<sup>49</sup> The assembly could not possibly have met inside the temple,<sup>50</sup> and it is very unlikely that another part of the precinct would have been used, when the Theater was included in the precinct and was so immeasurably superior for a large gathering. But Köhler's third suggestion is almost certainly correct.<sup>51</sup> A law quoted by Demosthenes provides that the *prytaneis* shall "convene the assembly in the precinct of Dionysus" (ποιεῖν ἐκκλησίαν ἐν Διονύσου) on the next day after the Pandia, and in it they shall deal with religious matters, complaints concerning the procession or contests at the Dionysia, and kindred matters.<sup>52</sup> In other passages in the literature of the second half of the fourth century this expression seems always to refer to meetings at this particular time of the year, and the business carried on in the assembly has to do with the preceding festival, as the law provided.<sup>53</sup> Aeschines brings out the point that it was also lawful at this meeting to crown a foreigner, but not an Athenian citizen except in recognition of services rendered in connection with the festival. The greater Dionysia took place in the spring (Elaphebolion 9-13), so

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<sup>49</sup> Commentary on *I. G.*, II, 420.

<sup>50</sup> There is a tendency in translations of Greek authors on this particular point (cf. the Loeb edition of Demosthenes, *Against Meidias*, 8, 227, and many other passages, especially in this series). When reference is made to an assembly in the *hieron* of a god, this cannot mean inside the temple, since very few temples would have provided adequate accommodation for a full voting assembly. Such passages must refer rather to assemblies held within the sacred precincts of these temples.

<sup>51</sup> Busolt (*op. cit.*, p. 991) considers it briefly in a footnote.

<sup>52</sup> *Op. cit.*, 8-10 (517). The festival called "Pandia" occupied one day immediately following the Dionysia.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Demosthenes, *op. cit.*, 227 (586); Aeschines, *On the False Embassy*, 61; *Against Ctesiphon*, 52.

that, if this formula referred to the session immediately following it, the meetings with this designation should have taken place in the second half of Elaphebolion.<sup>54</sup>

In eight extant Attic decrees the reading *ἐκκλησία ἐν Διονύσου* is certain, and in seven others it is restored. It will be observed from the accompanying Table<sup>55</sup> that in all eight cases where the reading is certain (Nos. 1, 3, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14) the business occupying the assembly was that provided by law for the first meeting after the festival. Also, in four of these (Nos. 3, 11, 12, 13) the month is Elaphebolion, while in three others (Nos. 1, 10, 14) it is lost. In one of these three (No. 14) it may be certainly restored. The other two are not contained in preambles, but are meetings referred to in later decrees. Comparison with these later meetings makes Elaphebolion almost certain for the earlier assembly in the case of No. 1,<sup>56</sup> and likely for No. 10. The remaining decree of this group (No. 6) is more difficult, for its formula and subject fit the first assembly after the festival, but the month Anthesterion seems to be the correct restoration.<sup>57</sup> Rather than see in this one of the regular assemblies held at various times throughout the year and so extend this formula to them, it is preferable to suggest that a similar special session could be held after the Anthesteria, which took place from the

<sup>54</sup> An exception has to be made of the meeting of 411 B. C. which took place in mid-summer. It was clearly an extraordinary meeting called in extraordinary times, when the Pnyx was not being used. Hence, it need not seriously influence the main issue.

<sup>55</sup> Table I (p. 48) includes all decrees I have found in which the formula "Assembly in [the precinct] of Dionysus" is preserved or restored. They are arranged in chronological order, and the numbering on the extreme left is used in referring to them in the text.

<sup>56</sup> The decree was passed in the ninth prytany and in the month Munychion, and the decree referred to in lines 5 and 6 was passed in the eighth prytany, and so in the preceding month, Elaphebolion.

<sup>57</sup> The month is not restored in the *Corpus*, but Schweigert has re-studied it and has read the *eta* on the stone. Cf. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 33. I have also examined the stone and confirmed this reading.

eleventh to the thirteenth of Anthesterion and which was also a festival in honor of Dionysus.

Then, in three other cases where the formula has been restored but the month is Elaphebolion and the business discussed is suitable (Nos. 2, 4, 5), the restoration may be regarded as certain. In the remaining four cases (Nos. 7, 8, 9, 15) the formula is restored, the months are various but none is Elaphebolion, and in three of them the business before the assembly has nothing to do with the festival, while the business concerned in the fourth (No. 9) is unknown.<sup>58</sup> Hence, the restoration of ἐκκλησία ἐν Διονύσου in these cases must be regarded as quite uncertain, even unlikely.<sup>59</sup>

Thus, the formula "assembly in [the precinct] of Dionysus" regularly designated the first meeting of the assembly held after the greater Dionysia. But this custom and the formula itself is no doubt considerably older than the middle of the fourth century B. C., when these inscriptions begin to appear. If it began before the Theater of Dionysus was available, the meetings would simply have been held in the sacred precinct, and this would explain the persistence of the formula long after the Theater was used for these, as well as for the regular assemblies.

B. "Assembly in Piraeus" (ἐκκλησία ἐμ Πειραιῇ). A meeting of the assembly in "the Dionysiac Theater at Munychia" in 411 B. C. and two more "at Munychia in the

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<sup>58</sup> In no. 7 even the length of the line is uncertain, and the formula with the addition of κυρία would be without parallel. In *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1011, l. 74 the formula "assembly in the Theater in [the precinct] of Dionysus" (ἐκκλησία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἐν τοῦ Διονύσου) occurs. This would appear to be merely a slip on the part of a stone cutter who was used to inscribing either formula, but not both on the same stone. An exactly similar decree on the same block has a regular formula. The addition of the article before Διονύσου is not found elsewhere.

<sup>59</sup> It should be pointed out that the formula "assembly in Piraeus" (ἐκκλησία ἐμ Πειραιῇ) would require practically the same amount of space, so that it would be a likelier restoration in view of the evidence adduced. The business taken up would be appropriate enough for an assembly in Piraeus.

Theater" in 404 B. C. have already been noted and discussed. There is no other certain evidence for assemblies held there in

TABLE II

Ἑκκλησία ἐμ Πειραιεῖ

No.	Reference	Year	Day of Prytany	Formula
1.	Dow, <i>Prytaneis</i> , no. 38, ll. 2, 3	208/7	24	ἐκ]κλησία ἐμ Π<ει>ραιεῖ
2.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 849, l. 4	206/5	23 (?)	ἐκκλησία ἐμ Πειρ[αιεῖ
3.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 850, ll. 2, 3	200/199	?	ἐκκλησι[α] ἐμ Πειραιεῖ
4.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 978, ll. 6, 7	199/8	31	ἐκκλησία ἐμ Πειραιεῖ
5.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 785, ll. 5, 6	196/5	29	ἐκκλη]σία ἐμ Πειραιεῖ
6.	<i>Hesperia</i> , V, 1936, p. 422, no. 15, l. 4	195/5	28	ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐμ Πειραιεῖ
7.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 890, l. 4	ca. 188/7	[13]	ἐ[κκλη]σία ἐμ Πειραιεῖ
8.	<i>Hesperia</i> , X, 1941, p. 280, no. 75, ll. 4, 5	173/2 (?)	25	ἐκκλησία ἐμ Πει[ραιεῖ
9.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 910, l. 4; Dow, <i>op. cit.</i> , no. 71; <i>Hesperia</i> , III, 1934, p. 18, no. 18, ll. 6, 7	169/8	22	ἐκκλησία ἐμ Πειραιεῖ
10.	<i>Hesperia</i> , V, 1936, p. 429, no. 17, ll. 6, 7	169/8	29	ἐκκλη]σία ἐμ Πειραιεῖ
11.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 946, l. 5	166/5	24	ἐκκλησία ἐμ Πειραιεῖ
12.	Dow, <i>op. cit.</i> , no. 79, l. 5	159/8	21	ἐκκλη]σία ἐμ Πει[ραιεῖ
13.	<i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , 1605, l. 43	150/49	29	ἐκκλη]σία ἐμ Πειραιεῖ
14.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 971, l. 10	140/39	?	ἐκκλησία ἐν Πειραιεῖ
15.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 974, l. 4	137/6	27	ἐκκλησία ἐμ Πειρ[α]ιεῖ

the fifth century B. C., but it was apparently a not unusual meeting place in the latter part of the century.

In this connection, however, a restoration in the inscription recording the fitting out of the Sicilian expedition in 416/5 B. C. must be regarded as unlikely. In lines 16, 17 the editors of the *Corpus* write:

Let the prytaneis convene the assembly in the dockyard and treat . . .  
(τὴν δ[ὲ] ἐκκλησίαν ποιεῖν τοὺς πρυτάνεις ἐν τῷ νεωρίῳ καὶ χρηματίζεσθ[αι]  
. . .).<sup>40</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 98, ll. 14-22.

They base their restoration on the analogy of the Methone inscription, where the phrase "the sessions in the dockyard" (*τὰς ἐν νεωρίῳ ἑ[δρας]*) occurs; but this has to do with a session of the council, not of the assembly.<sup>61</sup> Even if *neorion* denoted only the dock or dockyard and not a roofed building as well, a meeting of the whole Athenian assembly there is unsupported by any positive evidence and is inherently unlikely.<sup>62</sup> In the fourth century, business before the assembly in connection with the navy was regularly conducted in the Theater in Piraeus, and this is much more likely to have been true also in the fifth century. If it is the place of meeting which is to be supplied in this inscription, the word *θεάτρῳ* is of almost the exact length of *νεωρίῳ* and is a more plausible restoration. The Theater on the west side of Munychia<sup>63</sup> was the only one in Piraeus until Hellenistic times and seems always to have been the assembly place there.

Demosthenes told his audience:

On the twenty-seventh [of Skirophorion 347/6 B. C.] when you were holding an assembly at Piraeus to discuss dockyard business [*ἡκκλησιάζετε μὲν τόθ' ὑμεῖς ἐν Πειραιεὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς νεωρίοις*] Dercylus arrived.<sup>64</sup>

There can be little doubt that he referred to an assembly in the Theater at Munychia, and the choice of Piraeus as the place of meeting is adequately explained by the nature of the business which the assembly was considering. Evidence is lacking as to whether assemblies held in Piraeus at this period considered ordinary business. There is no mention of

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 57, ll. 53-55.

<sup>62</sup> *Neorion* means literally "dock" or "dockyard," and it is placed by Judeich (*op. cit.*, p. 449) in Eetionia on the west side of Cantharus harbor, where there are remains of stone moles and ramps. Although it is mentioned as the location of the marine administration, as well as of rather frequent meetings of the council, Wachsmuth regards it as unlikely that there was an actual building for the purpose. Cf. the later discussion of this problem, pp. 136, 141-143.

<sup>63</sup> Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 451.

<sup>64</sup> *On the False Embassy*, 60; cf. *ibid.*, 125.



an assembly there for a century after this, and by the time the formula does begin to appear in inscriptions the assemblies concerned seem to have had no special connection with naval matters.

Most of the evidence on the assemblies which met in Piraeus is epigraphical and is incorporated in the accompanying Table (p. 52).<sup>65</sup> The decrees with this formula begin in the last quarter of the third century and continue fairly regularly through the third quarter of the second century. The earliest dates from 208/7 B. C., more than a century after the occurrences already discussed and long after the other regular meeting places were being specified in inscribed decrees. The explanation seems to lie in the history of the preceding century. In that period Piraeus was frequently held by a party at war with that in the city, and it is significant that meetings in Piraeus begin to be recorded again soon after the Chremonidean War when, by the peace of 255 B. C., Antigonus restored the autonomy of Athens and made her a favored city.

It will also be noted from the Table that the meetings of the assembly in Piraeus were apparently always held in the last third of the prytany.<sup>66</sup> There were regularly four meetings of the assembly in every prytany,<sup>67</sup> and, as these in Piraeus occur consistently in the third decade, it appears that this meeting place was used only for the last meeting in the prytany.

The question arises whether the city Theater could also be

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<sup>65</sup> I have found fifteen prescripts with the formula preserved. Table II has been compiled in a manner similar to that of Table I, except for the addition of the day by prytany. The prytany, month, day of month, and business before the assembly vary, and, since no particular conclusion can be drawn from them, they have not been included in the Table.

<sup>66</sup> The restoration "thirteenth" in no. 7 need not be considered seriously, since the reading of the whole inscription depends on the text of Fourmont alone; cf. Dow, *Prytaneis* (*Hesperia*, Supplement 1), no. 51. The day of the prytany is unknown in nos. 3 and 14, and uncertain in no. 2.

<sup>67</sup> Aristotle, *op. cit.*, 43, 3.

used for this meeting. In twelve (Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 15, 20, 25, 33, 36, 39, 47) out of the fifty-seven collected instances of the formula "assembly in the Theater"<sup>68</sup> the date is in the third decade of the prytany, but these cases need to be examined further. Three of them (Nos. 7, 25, 36) were extraordinary (σύγκλητος) sessions and would not necessarily conform to the established custom as to place of meeting. Moreover, two of these (Nos. 7, 25) and another (No. 9) were held in the Theater "in accordance with a decree" (κατὰ ψήφισμα), which suggests an unusual proceeding.<sup>69</sup> But most illuminating is a fifth (No. 39) which reads:

assembly in the Theater, having been changed from Piraeus according to the decree which . . . proposed (ἐκκλησία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἢ μεταχ-  
θεῖ[σα] ἐκ Πειραιεύς κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα δ . . . ἐπ[ε]ν).

This was a regular assembly that met on the twenty-fourth day of the prytany and required a special decree to authorize the change of meeting place from Piraeus to the Theater of Dionysus. It provides important confirmation of the other evidence pointing to Piraeus as the regular place of meeting for the last assembly of each prytany.<sup>70</sup> In view of the

<sup>68</sup> Cf. note 74, pp. 57-58.

<sup>69</sup> It seems significant that in all the instances of the formula "assembly in the Theater," these special phrases ("special session" and "in accordance with a decree") occur only in the cases of meetings in the third decade.

<sup>70</sup> The place of the assembly in *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 893 (No. 18 of note 74) was changed to the Theater from somewhere else, but no known place of meeting seems to fill the requirements exactly. Wilhelm (*A. M.*, XXXIX, 1914, pp. 296, 297) counts only nine letter spaces and restores [ἐκ Κεραμεικοῦ]. He quotes as a parallel the assembly in front of the Stoa of Attalus (cf. note 84), where the Agora is called the Ceramicus. But since a century separated the two events, and the formula is unknown in epigraphical terminology, this restoration must be regarded as unlikely. Dow (*Harvard Studies*, XLVIII, 1937, p. 111, note 3) would restore here [ἐκ τοῦ ἐμ Πειραιεὶ θεάτρο]ν. This is a much more likely formula, especially in view of that preserved in *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 977. The width of the letters is irregular, and the stone is badly worn and broken at the left, so that it is

comparatively large number of inscriptions which have the formula "assembly in the Theater," it would seem to be significant that only seven out of fifty-seven designate regular assemblies meeting in the third decade of the prytany. These may perhaps be explained as exceptions to the rule on the assumption that they were held in the Theater by reason of a special decree, like that mentioned in the above four cases but not specified on the stone, or else by the possibility that these were times when some event, such as a hostile threat or even an actual occupation of Piraeus, made an assembly there quite out of the question.<sup>71</sup>

It is worth noting that approximately two-thirds of the total number of meetings in the Theater are specified as "assembly with full powers" (ἐκκλησία κυρία), while only a single one (No. 6) in Piraeus has this designation. Aristotle says that in his day the pay for ecclesiasts was more for the assemblies with full powers than for the ordinary ones, and no doubt larger crowds would attend the former for that reason.<sup>72</sup> Hence, the authorities would naturally take care to hold these meetings in the more spacious city Theater.<sup>73</sup>

C. "Assembly" (ἐκκλησία) and "Assembly in the Theater" (ἐκκλησία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ).

The earliest preserved instance of the second of these two formulae is in a certain restoration of a decree dated in 327/6 B. C.<sup>74</sup> It appears in another decree of the last quarter

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impossible to judge accurately the number of letter spaces to be filled.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 911. It will be noticed in Table II (p. 52) that the preposition was spelled with a *mu* in all but one (no. 14). The assembly recorded in no. 9 was extraordinary and apparently summoned by the generals, as is shown by the prescript of another decree passed at the same meeting.

<sup>72</sup> *Op. cit.*, 52, 2.

<sup>73</sup> The fact that none of the assemblies held in the Theater in the third decade of the prytany were "assemblies with full powers" may also support the contention that these were planned for the smaller auditorium in Piraeus.

<sup>74</sup> The following is a chronologically arranged list of decrees pre-

of the fourth century, and Aristotle mentions an annual assembly in the Theater in his day at which the ephebes gave a display of military formations before the people and were

serving (or having restored) in their preambles the specification "assembly in the Theater." This formula is so much more frequent than the two discussed above that it is probable that a few, at least, which should be included in this category have been omitted. Since no particular conclusions can be drawn from other details, such as have been assembled in Tables I and II, only a number for reference, the publication, and the dates have been given in the following list. For detailed references cf. Pritchett-Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, pp. xv-xxv.

No.	Reference	Date
1.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 357, l. 6	327/8 B. C.
2.	<i>Hesperia</i> , III, 1934, p. 3, no. 5, ll. 3, 4	327/6
3.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 389, ll. 5, 6	293/2
4.	<i>Hesperia</i> , VII, 1938, p. 97, no. 17, ll. 6, 7	293/2
5.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 702, l. 5	256/5
6.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 837, ll. 5, 6	227/6
7.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 838, ll. 5, 6	226/5
8.	<i>Hesperia</i> , IV, 1935, p. 525, no. 39, ll. 6, 7	226/5
9.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 857, ll. 3, 4	before 224/3
10.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 917, ll. 4, 5	223/2
11.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 839, ll. 10, 11	221/0
12.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 846, l. 4	215/4
13.	<i>Hesperia</i> , X, 1941, p. 276, no. 73, ll. 1-4	196/5
14.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 886, ll. 3, 4	193/2
15.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 916, l. 11	192/1
16.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 889, l. 4	191/0
17.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 891, l. 3	188/7
18.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 893, ll. 5-7	188/7
19.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 897, ll. 4-6	185/4
20.	Dow, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 120, no. 64, l. 3	178/7
21.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 905, ll. 4, 5	175/4
22.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 906, ll. 1, 2	175/4
23.	<i>Hesperia</i> , III, 1934, p. 14, no. 17, ll. 5, 6	171/0
24.	<i>Ibid.</i> , l. 46	171/0
25.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 945, ll. 5, 6	168/7
26.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1224, l. 2	166
27.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 947, l. 12	166/5
28.	<i>I. G.</i> , XI (4), 1056, l. 5	after 166
29.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 949, ll. 3, 4	165/4
30.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 950, l. 3	165/4
31.	<i>Hesperia</i> , III, 1934, p. 28, no. 20, ll. 4, 5	163/2
32.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 953, l. 4	ca. 160/59
33.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 979, ll. 5, 6	155/4
34.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 989, l. 11	mid second
35.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 967, l. 5	145/4
36.	<i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , 1507, l. 39	144/3
37.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 973, ll. 5, 6	139/4

presented with a shield and spear by the state.<sup>75</sup> There is also a reference to an assembly in the Theater when Demetrius Poliorcetes was in Athens at this same period.<sup>76</sup> It is perhaps significant that these earliest indications of the Theater of Dionysus as a place of meeting for the assembly belong in the period of Lycurgus, and that Lycurgus is credited with important changes in the Theater. While such extensive repairs were being made, it would have been next to impossible to hold sessions there, but after their completion the Theater must have been much the best equipped meeting place in Athens for any large group.

It would seem, however, that at this time it was still a sufficiently exceptional place of meeting for a regular assembly to make necessary the specification "assembly in the Theater" in the record of decrees passed by such an assembly. On the other hand, assemblies on the Pnyx were so well established that no such specification was necessary, and simply the word "assembly" in the preamble was enough to convey this location to the reader. The earliest occurrence of this formula is in a decree of 335/4 B. C.<sup>77</sup> The scholiast on Demosthenes says in this connection:

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No.	Reference	Date
38.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 970, ll. 3, 4	140/39
39.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 977, ll. 3, 4	131/0
40.	<i>Hesperia</i> , II, 1933, p. 163, no. 9, l. 4	125/4
41.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 1004, l. 4	122/1
42.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1005, l. 3	122/1
43.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1006, l. 4	122/1
44.	<i>Ibid.</i> , l. 51	122/1
45.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1008, ll. 2, 3	118/7
46.	<i>Ibid.</i> , l. 50	118/7
47.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1009, l. 30	116/5
48.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1030, l. 9	108/7
49.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1011, l. 2	106/5
50.	<i>Ibid.</i> , l. 32	106/5
51.	<i>Ibid.</i> , ll. 64, 65	106/5
52.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1034, l. 3	103/2
53.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1028, l. 3	101/0
54.	<i>Ibid.</i> , l. 68	101/0
55.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1029, l. 2	94/3
56.	<i>Mélanges Bidez</i> , II, 1934, p. 819, l. 15	25/4-18/7
57.	<i>I. G.</i> , IV <sup>2</sup> , 84, ll. 23, 24	ca. 40-42 A. D.

<sup>75</sup> *Op. cit.*, 42, 2.

<sup>76</sup> Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 34.

<sup>77</sup> *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 330, ll. 3, 4.

They held assemblies not only on the Pnyx, but often in Piraeus and other places. Wherever they held their meetings was called the *ecclesia*, not that the place itself was so called but because the people met there. This was especially true of the Pnyx, for it was the usual meeting place.<sup>78</sup>

Further, it is stated that in 330 B. C. there existed a law which made it illegal for any Athenian to be crowned in the Theater; crowns voted by the council were to be conferred in the Bouleuterion and those voted by the assembly in the "ecclesia on the Pnyx" and nowhere else.<sup>79</sup>

The above evidence is sufficient to refute a current opinion that the assembly ceased to hold its regular meetings on the Pnyx after 332 B. C.<sup>80</sup> The inference that after this date only the elections were held on the Pnyx is drawn from a passage in which Pollux says:

Everything else was carried on in the Theater of Dionysus, and only the elections on the Pnyx.<sup>81</sup>

But Pollux gives no date for the change, and other evidence would place it as late as the end of the third century B. C. Thus, the single word "assembly" in the preambles is common in the third century. In only nine decrees preserved from that period is it specified that the assembly was held in the Theater. Six of these date from the latter third of the century, and from this rather scanty evidence it may perhaps be inferred that the Theater was gaining in popularity as a political meeting place. There is also a literary reference to a meeting there in the lifetime of Phocion.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>78</sup> *On the False Embassy*, 379, 22 (Dindorf, VIII, p. 398).

<sup>79</sup> Aeschines, *Against Otesiphon*, 33-35.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Glotz, *The Greek City*, p. 215 and references there; also Reusch, *De Diebus Contionum Ordinariarum apud Athenienses* (Strasbourg, 1879), pp. 1-5. He implies that there was a change in 332/1 B. C., because at that time no decree had been discovered earlier than this date in which the prescript contained a specification of the place of meeting. But cf. now *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 785.

<sup>81</sup> *Op. cit.*, VIII, 133.

<sup>82</sup> Plutarch, *Phocion*, 34.

In the second century there can be no doubt that the Theater had superseded the Pnyx. Inscriptions show some forty assemblies there, and the formula "assembly" disappears after the first third of the century. The epigraphical evidence for the early first century B. C. points to the same conclusion, but inscribed decrees are almost entirely lacking in the latter part of the century.<sup>83</sup> There is, however, a certain amount of information on this period in extant literature.

Athenaeus, referring to events which are known to have taken place *ca.* 88/7 B. C., says that when Athenion returned to Athens:

Even the Cerameicus was filled with citizens and foreigners, and there was a spontaneous rush of the crowds to the Assembly . . . Mounting, then, the platform built in front of the Portico of Attalus by the Roman generals, . . . he spoke: . . . "and let us not permit our holy places to be kept locked against us, our gymnasia in squalid decay, our theater deserted by the Assembly, our courts voiceless, and the Pnyx, once consecrated to sacred uses by divine oracles, taken away from the people."<sup>84</sup>

This is the only reference to a bema in the Agora and the only mention of an assembly in front of it.<sup>85</sup> Although the word "ecclesia" is used, it implies nothing more than the gathering of a crowd to hear a speech. For such a purpose the Agora would have served well enough and no doubt was often so used. Yet it is clear even in this passage that the Theater was the place of meeting for the regular assembly, and it was there that they elected Athenion general a little later. The mention of the Theater's being deserted by the assembly

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<sup>83</sup> Mention is made in two inscriptions of the beginning of this century (*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1028, ll. 35, 36; *ibid.*, 1029, ll. 21, 22) of the ephebes' presence in full armor at all the assemblies, both those in the city and those in Piraeus. The "assembly in the city" certainly refers to those held in the Theater.

<sup>84</sup> Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, V, 212, e and f, 213, d. This was written in the early third century A. D., but his usual trustworthiness disposes one to accept the implications in this passage.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. p. 85.

must mean that its meetings were few and irregular. The statement that the Pnyx was taken away from the people accords with other evidence that it was not in use at this time as an assembly place. It is unlikely that it was actually forbidden to assemblies, but it was probably in complete disrepair.

The latest epigraphical reference to a meeting in the Theater is dated *ca.* 40-42 A. D. Evidence for this century is also provided by Philostratus. He says:

The Athenians ran in crowds to the theater beneath the Acropolis to witness human slaughter . . . and when the Athenians invited him [Apollonius] to attend their assembly, he refused to enter a place so impure and reeking with gore.<sup>86</sup>

Such an attitude may in part explain the apparent return to the Pnyx. Lucian refers to it as the regular assembly place in his time, and excavation has shown that there was probably some reconstruction in the first half of the second century A. D.<sup>87</sup>

OTHER CITIES. As far as can be ascertained from literature, the political assembly in the other Greek cities most commonly met in their respective theaters. Specific instances are known in the case of Corinth,<sup>88</sup> Delos,<sup>89</sup> Ephesus,<sup>90</sup> Messene,<sup>91</sup> Miletus,<sup>92</sup> Rhodes,<sup>93</sup> Samos,<sup>94</sup> Sicyon,<sup>95</sup> and Thebes.<sup>96</sup> The

<sup>86</sup> *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, IV, 22.

<sup>87</sup> *Jupiter Tragoedus*, 11. Cf. also Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, pp. 85, 86, and note 141 of this chapter.

<sup>88</sup> A meeting of his Macedonians called by Philip (Polybius, V, 25, 5); an assembly of citizens (Plutarch, *Aratus*, 23, 1). The bema mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles* has recently been identified there (cf. p. 85), but it, like that in the Agora at Athens, was certainly not the scene of the regular assemblies.

<sup>89</sup> *Inscriptions de Délos*, 1497, A, l. 5; *ibid.*, 1504, l. 52.

<sup>90</sup> *Acts of the Apostles*, 19, 24-41.

<sup>91</sup> *I. G.*, V, 1432, ll. 5, 6; Plutarch, *Aratus*, 50, 2.

<sup>92</sup> Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*<sup>3</sup>, 683, ll. 45, 46.

<sup>93</sup> Polybius, XV, 23, 1.

<sup>94</sup> Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, 976, ll. 2-11.

<sup>95</sup> Plutarch, *Aratus*, 8, 5.

<sup>96</sup> Livy, XXXVII, 28; Plutarch, *Precepts of Statecraft*, 3, 799F. *Graecorum*.<sup>3</sup>



dates of these meetings range from the fourth century B. C. to the first century A. D.

In the Theater at Samos the *prytaneis* made the members of the assembly sit,

in divisions of one thousand [*κατὰ χιλιαστὸν*], having made sign posts [*σημεία*] and marked off the place for each division.

These divisions voted as a body. The sections in the Theater for the various divisions were evidently marked off by some sort of lettering system, as in modern auditoria. These would have been fixed on posts, and cuttings which may well have held such posts are still to be seen in the seats of several ancient theaters. The division of citizens into groups of one thousand is attested also for Ephesus, Erythrae, and Methymna; and units of one hundred (*ἑκατοστής*) were used at Byzantium, Lampsacus, and Heraclea Pontica.<sup>97</sup> No doubt these and many other cities had a fixed seating arrangement for their assemblies. Another method of marking the places of the various divisions might be inferred from the Theater at Megalopolis, where the names of the various local tribes are inscribed on the backs of the seats of honor which were set around the orchestra. The excavators think it likely that the members of the designated tribe, while attending the assembly or a theatrical performance, sat in the section (*cuneus*) directly behind their special chair.<sup>98</sup>

In some cities a roofed building, called "ecclesiasterion" (*ἐκκλησιαστήριον*), was constructed to house the assembly. The name is known only from a few literary notices and inscriptions. An inscription, probably of the first half of the fourth century B. C., from Olbia provided that anyone wishing to buy or sell coined gold or silver should buy or sell it "upon the stone which is in the Ecclesiasterion" (*ἐπὶ τοῦ λίθου τοῦ*

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, I, p. 531, note 8.

<sup>98</sup> Gardner *et al.*, *Excavations at Megalopolis* (*J. H. S.*, Supplement I, 1892), pp. 122-126, especially p. 126. Cf. also the probable arrangement by tribes in the Theater of Dionysus in Athens (Haigh, *The Attic Theater*, third edition, p. 337).

ἐν τῷ ἐκκλησιασ[τηρίῳ].<sup>99</sup> Also, in five decrees of the Delian assembly, passed after 166 B. C., the formula "sovereign assembly in the Ecclesiasterion" (ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐν τῷ ἐκκλησιασστηρίῳ) occurs, and in the numerous Delian inscriptions the Ecclesiasterion is mentioned in various other connections.<sup>100</sup> As a result of excavation this Delian building has been tentatively identified, and several constructions elsewhere have on various grounds been designated as ecclesiasteria.<sup>101</sup> Vitruvius tells how a certain Apaturius of

<sup>99</sup> Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, 218, l. 10. The restoration of the latter part of the word "ecclesiasterion" is almost certain and provides much the earliest extant reference to a building of this name in any Greek city. The "stone" mentioned here perhaps referred to a large stone platform or bema, such as Aristophanes mentions on the Pnyx at Athens.

<sup>100</sup> *Inscriptions de Délos*, 1497, ll. 3, 4; 1498, l. 3; 1501, ll. 2, 3; 1502, ll. 3, 4; 1503, ll. 2, 3. This, however, was not the only meeting place of the assembly, for in the same period they were also held in the Theater (cf. *ibid.*, 1497 A, l. 5; 1504, l. 52). Again, the Delian council seems to have met sometimes in this hall meant for the assembly (cf. *ibid.*, 1506, ll. 2, 3).

<sup>101</sup> These will be fully discussed on pp. 85-96. It is difficult for the excavator to distinguish the ecclesiasterion and bouleuterion (to be discussed in Chapter VI) from the odeum or music hall (the *minuscule theatrum* of Vitruvius). The odeum was a roofed theater-like hall with stage and green rooms. Its usual form is well known and fairly consistent, whereas there is much less information about that of the ecclesiasterion. Each was used primarily as a sheltered auditorium for an audience of limited size, and they would naturally be alike in general plan. The feature which might be expected to distinguish them is the presence of a large stage, which was a necessary feature of every odeum, but not necessarily of an ecclesiasterion. For example, there is no sign of a stage, or even of a speaker's platform, in the Ecclesiasterion at Priene. But stages might be built entirely of wood, and the passage quoted from Vitruvius shows that a stage could also be added to an ecclesiasterion. The indications are that the ecclesiasterion was an earlier, although not such a regular feature of the larger Greek cities. As the need arose for a music hall, the cities which already possessed an ecclesiasterion (or bouleuterion) seem to have often put them to this new use as well (cf. the addition of a stage in the "Synedrium" at Messene, p. 210, and in the Bouleuterion at Miletus, p. 214).

Alabanda had built for the citizens of Tralles a fine stage in their

small Theater [minuscule theatrum], which they call "Ecclesiasterion" [quod ἐκκλησιαστήριον apud eos vocitatur].<sup>102</sup>

Dionysius of Halicarnassus used the word "ecclesiasterion" to designate the political assembly place (comitium) at Rome.<sup>103</sup>

In the course of his description of Sparta, Pausanias remarks:

Leading from the market place is another road, on which they have built what is called Scias (Canopy), where even at the present day they hold their meetings of the Assembly. This Canopy was made, they say, by Theodorus of Samos, who discovered the melting of iron and the moulding of images from it. . . . By the Canopy is a circular building."<sup>104</sup>

Nothing further is known of the Spartan Scias. The same name was applied to the Tholus at Athens, which was round in shape, and the assumption seems to be universal that this building, too, was round. Thiersch supposed that it was primarily an odeum, on the analogy of the Odeum of Pericles in Athens, which was thought to be round before excavation disproved this.<sup>105</sup> Pfuhl regards it as a sanctuary of Hestia,<sup>106</sup> and Hagemann as a prytaneum.<sup>107</sup> Charbonneaux rightly points out the lack of proof for these theories and believes it was primarily a place of meeting for the assembly. However, he also thinks it was round, connects it with the sacred circle of Homer, and sees in it a *marché couvert*.<sup>108</sup> But it need not have been round. Pausanias' remark "and next to the Scias is a round building" seems expressly to distinguish

<sup>102</sup> *De Architectura*, VII, 5, 5.

<sup>103</sup> IV, 38.

<sup>104</sup> III, 12, 10 and 11.

<sup>105</sup> *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Architektur*, II, p.

<sup>106</sup> *A. M.*, XXX, 1905, p. 343.

<sup>107</sup> *De Graecorum Prytaneis*, p. 20.

<sup>108</sup> *B. O. H.*, XLIX, 1925, pp. 169, 170.

the Scias and the circular construction beside it. The word means only a shade or shelter, and the building to which it was applied need not even have had solid outside walls. There is, in fact, not a single proved case of a political meeting place with a circular plan.<sup>109</sup>

The tradition that the Scias was built so early must not be entirely disregarded, although the construction of a building capable of accommodating even a relatively small assembly would have been a considerable accomplishment for the time of Theodorus, i. e. the sixth century B. C. It would at that rate be the earliest known example of a roofed building constructed for the meeting place of a Greek political assembly. But such a date need not conflict with Plutarch's reference to an open-air meeting place of the Spartan assembly in the time of Lycurgus.<sup>110</sup> It is possible that at some quite early date, whether in the time of Theodorus or not, the Spartan assembly place was changed from an open-air auditorium outside the city to a roofed building adjoining the Agora. There is also the possibility that the whole voting assembly continued to meet in the open, while the Scias was only used for the limited assembly (*μικρὰ ἐκκλησία*).

### *Extraordinary Meeting Places*

On the island of Ithaca a decree was passed in honor of the city of Magnesia on the Maeander by the "assembly in the Odysseum" (*ἐκκλησία ἐν τῷ Ὀδυσσεύει*), and a stele with the decree inscribed upon it was to be set up in the Odysseum.<sup>111</sup> This probably refers to a large temenos containing a chapel of Odysseus, where the assembly met in the open air. Similar meeting places were used by some of the federal leagues.<sup>112</sup> The location of this sanctuary is unknown.<sup>113</sup> Then, Xeno-

<sup>109</sup> Cf. pp. 189-192 in connection with the so-called Bouleuterion at Gortyna.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. p. 39.

<sup>111</sup> Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, 558, ll. 3, 29, 30.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. pp. 124-126.

<sup>113</sup> A cave just at sea level in Polis bay on the west coast of

phon says that the Phliasians had more than five thousand men, who, when besieged by the Spartans, held their assemblies outside the walls so that their numbers would be evident.<sup>114</sup> This, of course, was not their regular meeting place. Finally, in his description of Borysthenes, Dio Chrysostom tells how they held their assemblies in an open space in front of the temple of Zeus, with the magistrates seated in a circle and the people standing around them.<sup>115</sup> Such a simple arrangement in the first century A. D. brings to mind a much earlier stage of development among Greek people; long before this time almost every city assembly had moved to a more permanent meeting place.

## B. *Extant Meeting Places*

### (1) *Archaic*

It has been pointed out that rows of rectilinear seats bordering one side of an open area provide a simple and fairly adequate arrangement for the accommodation of an audience. Such auditoria are known in at least two Cretan towns of the Archaic period, and it is likely that analogous constructions were a usual adjunct of other cities both on the mainland and in Crete. The construction at Lato has already been discussed.<sup>116</sup> Then, at Dreros, a series of stone seats extended along the south side of an open terrace *ca.* 40 m. x 30 m. in area.<sup>117</sup> They are best preserved in their western part and along a short return northward from the west end at right angles to the main section. In this section seven rows are still in position. This arrangement was completed before

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Ithaca has been plausibly identified as a sanctuary of Odysseus. But this can scarcely have been the Odysseum here mentioned, since it is difficult to believe that a political assembly would have been convened in such a place.

<sup>114</sup> *Hellenica*, V, 3, 16.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. pp. 32-35.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. p. 29.

<sup>117</sup> Demargue and Van Effenterre, *B.C.H.*, LXI, 1937, pp. 10-15, Pl. I. No exact dimensions of the width and height of riser of the seats are given.

600 B. C. and was probably repaired in Hellenistic times. It, like that at Lato, was doubtless used by audiences watching religious spectacles, and it is large enough to have served as a meeting place for political assemblies as well. These constructions seem to carry on the general form of the Minoan Theatral Area.<sup>118</sup>

## (2) *Classical*

In this period the political assembly in most Greek cities used the theater as its regular place of meeting.<sup>119</sup> Constructions roughly resembling an open-air theater were designed for this special use in a few cities which also possessed regular theaters.

### *The Athenian Pnyx.*<sup>120</sup> (Plate II, Fig. 7)

It was observed that in the literature of the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. there is frequent reference to the Pnyx as the place where the political assembly was convened. Its location has been the subject of considerable controversy;<sup>121</sup> indeed, it is only since 1932 that the site has been fixed with certainty

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<sup>118</sup> In Greece proper no such arrangement of the Archaic period is extant, but they may be roughly paralleled in a later period by rows of seats such as those just north of the Heraeum in Olympia and south of the temple of Despoina at Lycosura. These served the double purpose of providing a strong, sharply-battered retaining wall against the hillside, and of accommodating a considerable number of onlookers, either seated or standing, gathered to watch religious processions or other spectacles. The construction at Lycosura was in an especially advantageous position, since a side door in the temple opened opposite it. The narrow space between these seats and the temples makes it unlikely that they were used for any but informal gatherings. Cf. also the seating arrangement along the east side of the precinct of Demeter at Pergamum.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. p. 61. The implications in this connection as to the origin of the theater have been already mentioned. There is no need to go into the actual form of the theater in this essay. Its suitability in good weather for any sort of meeting is obvious.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. especially Thompson and Kourouniotes, *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 90-217. Pls. I-IV.

<sup>121</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pp. 90-94.

on the central of the three hills which lie in a line southwest of the Acropolis and the Areopagus. The recent excavations have established three periods in the history of the meeting place, and these will be discussed in chronological order.

*Period 1.* Reason would suggest that for the earliest period in its history the natural slope of the hill (i. e. the downward slope from south to north) would be utilized. Thus, the audience would look north and east to the Agora and the mountains beyond. This supposition is borne out fully by literary references<sup>122</sup> and by excavation. A comparatively smoothly cut and level rock floor sloped gently down to the north, with the center somewhat hollowed. Its cuttings were traced wherever trenches were opened for ca. 30 m. from the north to south, and the surface shows the effect of much wear and weathering. This makes it necessary to assign these cuttings to the earliest period, since there is evidence that the area was buried under earth fillings in the two subsequent reconstructions. The smoothed area has the form of a broad but shallow cavea. It is bounded on the north by a series of east-west cuttings which were traced throughout their length of ca. 60 m. In some places they resemble the form of rude steps, while in others there is only a smoothly dressed surface. The cuttings are everywhere too fresh and rough to have been exposed to the weather for any length of time or continuously used as steps. In the central part, the cuttings have a generally uniform east-west direction, while at the extremities they show a sharp turn southward. The only adequate explanation seems to be that they served as the bedding for a stone retaining wall, and there are, in fact, a few blocks of the lowest course of this wall still in situ. The stepped nature of the cuttings suggests a battered wall, on the analogy of the better preserved one of the second period.

The purpose of this wall was clearly to support a low earth terrace which would cover up the irregularities and provide a level area at the front of the auditorium. Here must have

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<sup>122</sup> Cf. Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 19-33.

been situated the speakers' bema, which was apparently constructed of stone.<sup>123</sup> It would naturally be placed near the central point. There were wooden benches for the officials,<sup>124</sup> and these were no doubt built on the level earth fill. South of this area rose the rocky slope of the hill, roughly shaped into a cavea. There are here no indications of regularly cut stone seats nor of cuttings which would seem to have been necessary for the bedding of wooden benches. Moreover, Aristophanes implies that the people sat on the bare rock.<sup>125</sup> Although the cuttings at the extreme south of this auditorium are obliterated by those of Period 3, it is assumed that they did not extend much further. The resulting seating floor would have had an area of *ca.* 2400 sq. m. This would have accommodated *ca.* five thousand persons, which was the maximum attendance for a fifth century assembly, according to Thucydides.<sup>126</sup> The roughness of the ground to the north,

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<sup>123</sup> The section in the publication (pp. 112, 113) dealing with Aristophanes' evidence on the bema provoked comment on the part of Dinsmoor (*A. J. A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 181) and Allen (*U. of California Publications*, 1936, pp. 28-30). The excavators, contrary to Dinsmoor's understanding of their text, drew the conclusion that the bema was of stone. But they understood that it was referred to both as a *πέρρα*, i. e. a platform carved from the living rock, as the surviving one of Period 3, and as a *λίθος*, i. e. a detached construction of stone blocks. Allen has shown that in the two cases where *πέρρα* is used, the word is part of the metaphors concerned and refers only indirectly to the Pnyx, let alone to the bema. Whenever Aristophanes designates the bema as such, he uses the word *λίθος*.

<sup>124</sup> Aristophanes, *Acharnians*, 25. Allen (*loc. cit.*) states that, because there is mention of the front bench (*πρώτον ξέλον*), other wooden benches must have been provided for a part of the populace at least. The passage more likely means, however, that there were a number of wooden benches for the *prytaneis* and that they all rushed to occupy the foremost of these.

<sup>125</sup> *Knights*, 754, 783. Allen tries to explain away this passage but scarcely succeeds.

<sup>126</sup> VIII, 72. But this has been regarded by many as an understatement used for the political purposes of the Thirty. Aristotle (*op. cit.*, 29, 5) speaks of the "Five Thousand" Athenians on the roll in 404 B. C. as if this were a very much limited assembly. Moreover,



west, and south of this early auditorium almost precludes the possibility of an entrance from these directions. Traces of an ancient roadway leading over the northeast shoulder of the hill strongly favor this point as the principal entrance.

The *terminus post quem* for this period of construction is quite uncertain. Study of the technique in the retaining wall and of the scanty remains of fill behind it has proved of little help. The excavators, by comparing its general characteristics with monuments more closely datable and by taking historical probability into consideration, suggest a date in the neighborhood of 500 B. C. The *terminus ante quem* is definitely fixed near the end of the fifth century B. C.<sup>127</sup>

*Period 2.* The clearest evidence for this reconstruction consists in the foundations of a retaining wall *ca.* 10 m. north of that of Period 1, and *ca.* 13 m. south of the great retaining wall of Period 3. In the latest excavations this wall was traced throughout its length and proved to form a curve somewhat deeper than a semicircle, with its axis at a slightly different angle from that of Periods 1 or 3. The best preserved section lies *ca.* 14 m. east of the central point. Here eight courses are standing, and each course is set *ca.* 0.18 m. within the outer edge of the course below. This battering produces in the wall an angle of *ca.* 18 degrees and would have strengthened it considerably. Leaning against this well-preserved section are the remains of a stairway. The preserved steps are 4 m. wide and show unmistakable signs of wear. This stairway was set *ca.* 10 m. east of the central axis and

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Athens in the time of Pericles had at least forty thousand citizens, while a city such as Halicarnassus had *ca.* ten thousand (Glotz, *op. cit.*, p. 27); yet an assembly of four thousand is attested in an inscription of Halicarnassus (Michel, *op. cit.*, 455, l. 21). The practice of payment for attendance at assemblies must also have greatly swelled the numbers. Hence, Thucydides' statement must be treated with due caution. On the other hand, it is well known that the ordinary Athenian assemblies were poorly attended, even by the citizens who lived in the city.

<sup>127</sup> This is proved by the date of the first reconstruction, Period 2.

would scarcely have provided adequate entrance facility to the auditorium. The excavators have, therefore, restored a similar stairway at an equal distance to the west of the axis of this period. The continuation of a line of rock-cut steps which may be noticed outside of, and running under the retaining wall of Period 3 would pass exactly through the proposed situation of this western stairway and must have given access to it. A road evidently led up from the northeast and branched off in broad steps leading to these two stairways.

The most unsatisfactory feature in the restoration of Period 2 is that the position of the bema and the front line of the auditorium cannot be accurately determined. Hence, the necessary height of the retaining wall can be fixed only approximately. A minimum height of 6.50 m. may be ascertained by extending the lines of the outer face of the wall and the stair treads until they meet, for the wall must have been carried up to that height in order to support the stairway. The excavators have suggested that the bema was placed *ca.* 10 m. north of the surviving one from Period 3 and at approximately the same level. They have calculated the probable height of the retaining wall of Period 2 by noting that its last certain traces toward the west are beddings which lie 1.50 m. below the bema of Period 3, and 1.60 m. below it at the eastern extremity. Allowing for one course in the wall here and a level top all the way around, the summit of the stone wall would have been less than 2 m. below the level of the supposed site of the bema.

They believe with good reason that the auditorium sloped upward toward the north, i. e. against the natural slope of the hill. Their reasons are: (1) the desirable protection from the north wind; (2) the unlikelihood of a level auditorium, which would have been inferior to the original arrangement; (3) the analogy of a floor sloping down to the bema in every large permanent auditorium of all periods throughout the Greek world; and especially (4) the analogy of the arrangement of Period 3, when this slope is practically certain. They think that this extra height was gained by the use of an artificial

earth embankment, which would have sloped gently inward toward the bema and sharply outward to the top of the retaining wall.<sup>128</sup> The stairways would have continued on upward through this earth fill and emerged some distance down from the back of the auditorium. Thus, they would have been more conveniently placed for general accessibility.

With the bema placed where the excavators suggest, the area of the auditorium would have been *ca.* 2600 sq. m. Dinsmoor would prefer to place the bema further south, thereby giving a full semicircular form and an area of *ca.* 3200 sq. m. to the auditorium.<sup>129</sup> Thompson and Kourouniotes had in their original article considered this possibility, but they rejected it because (1) it would have made the auditorium exceptionally deep from front to back, especially in comparison with the form of Period 1; (2) historical circumstances point to a smaller, rather than a larger attendance at assemblies of this period; (3) the placing of the bema so far south would have made necessary a considerably greater amount of filling to produce a slope against that of the hill. The last is the only serious objection, and it is not conclusive. There may have been in Period 2 a cutting down of the rock corresponding to that of Period 3, but not quite so deep or so far south. This would allow the placing of the bema further south in Period 2 and yet obviate the necessity of increasing the height of the fill. All trace of its existence would naturally have disappeared with the further cutting for Period 3.

There is, moreover, additional evidence which suggests the placing of the bema further south than in the restored plan. Just behind (south of) the existing scarp and near the bema of Period 3, a number of seats are cut in the rock (Fig. 7). They are in two sections. The eastern series has three seats preserved,<sup>130</sup> and its eastern end is clearly marked at a point

<sup>128</sup> Such an embankment is rare but by no means unparalleled in the history of auditoria. Cf. the Theaters at Eretria, Mantinea, and Miletus.

<sup>129</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>130</sup> Another cutting above these three seats has the same eastern

*ca.* 7.50 m. east of the bema of Period 3. Its western limit cannot be determined due to later cutting, but it extended at least as far west as a point opposite the fifth step on the east side of the bema of Period 3. It appears that there was

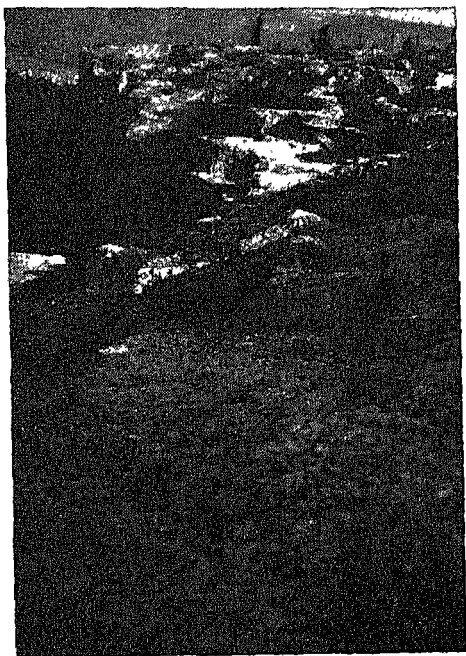


Fig. 7. Seats behind bema of Pnyx,  
Athens, from west.

at least one other lower step, which was destroyed by the scarping for Period 3. These seats are very regularly cut and are easily distinguishable from other cuttings of a more careless nature in the vicinity. They are *ca.* 0.98 m. in width and

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boundary, but its dimensions and somewhat rougher cutting make it unlikely that it originally belonged to this series. Its width at the east is *ca.* 0.60 m. and diminishes to *ca.* 0.30 m. toward the west. Its height is *ca.* 0.43 m. It must be later than the other seats.

0.38 m. in height of riser. The western series consists of four seats which are of somewhat smaller dimensions. Their eastern end is clearly marked opposite the line of the fifth step on the west of the bema of Period 3. They, too, are cut into by later workings, and their western end cannot be accurately determined.<sup>131</sup> These seats are *ca.* 0.70 m. in width and 0.28 m. in height of riser. The two series did not meet at the center, but their lines, if produced, would meet at an obtuse angle, the median of which is slightly east of the axis of the auditorium of Period 3.

The excavators at first associated these seats with Period 1, and later with Period 3.<sup>132</sup> But the facts (1) that it is improbable that the auditorium of Period 1 extended so far up the hillside; (2) that they are regularly cut in the rock, while there is no evidence for such seats further down the slope; (3) that they did not meet in the center, make their association with the earliest period unlikely. On the other hand, several considerations make it equally unlikely that they are as late as Period 3. These are: (1) the excavators themselves say that the character of the cuttings appears to be earlier than Period 3; (2) the seats are slightly asymmetrical with the bema of Period 3; (3) the scarp of Period 3 apparently cut into these seats. But they agree better in orientation and general characteristics with the reconstruction of Period 2.<sup>133</sup> Moreover, two lines which Aristophanes wrote

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<sup>131</sup> The excavators say that there were only two seats, and that one of these extends 9.30 m. west of the western edge of the bema. But it seems more likely that the seats to which they refer belong to the cutting of a later period. The east end of four seats, which appear to be contemporaneous with the eastern series, is clear in spite of later cuttings. The last certain trace of these is *ca.* 5.65 m. to the west.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. A. A., XLVI, 1931, pp. 219-224 and *loc. cit.*, pp. 165, 166, Figs. 38, 41. The drastic change in date of Period 3 (to be discussed below) has not, apparently, affected this association. Thompson believes these seats are contemporaneous with the rectangular bedding behind the bema of Period 3.

<sup>133</sup> In the scarp just to the west of the bema of Period 3 there are traces of a flight of steps which would have given access to these

in 393 B. C. show that early in the years of this reconstruction the *prytaneis* sat behind the speaker and faced the rest of the audience. He says:

So it is necessary for you [one of the audience] to take your seat immediately below the bema facing the *prytaneis*.<sup>134</sup>

These seats would fit perfectly with this description. If this association is correct, it would go far toward solving the problem of the position of the bema in Period 2. Accommodation for a maximum of one hundred councillors and clerks would not have required the existence of more than one additional row of seats in front of the surviving ones. Then, it must be supposed that the bema was fairly close to these seats. Its position as restored in the plan is *ca.* 14 m. north of the probable northern edge of these seats. Thus, strong support is provided for Dinsmoor's contention that it should be placed *ca.* 12 m. further south.

The excavators think it probable that in Period 2, as in Period 1, there was no fixed seating arrangement. But it is unlikely that the audience simply sat anywhere on the sloping earth fill.<sup>135</sup> Stone seats would not be necessary or probable, but wooden ones could have been quite easily built with the posts bedded in the earth and broken rock beneath, and no cutting in bed-rock would have been needed. Such seats would, indeed, have been useful in supporting and protecting from the elements the earth fill beneath.

Datable material from the fill behind the retaining wall shows that this reconstruction took place no earlier than the closing years of the fifth century B. C., and there is no internal evidence to suggest that it occurred later. Thus, nothing prevents the attribution of this undertaking to the Thirty in 404/3 B. C. This would vindicate the above-mentioned statement of Plutarch to the effect that the Thirty turned the bema

<sup>134</sup> *Ecclesiastousae*, 86, 87—ὥστε δεῖ σὲ καταλαβεῖν ἔδρας | ὑπὸ τῷ λίθῳ τῶν πρυτάνεων καταντικρῶ.

<sup>135</sup> Aristophanes (*ibid.*) speaks of ἔδραι, which must mean some kind of artificial seat.

toward the land, i. e. from north to south.<sup>186</sup> Perhaps the undertaking was calculated to relieve the unemployment and distress of the time. It may also have been intended to provide a more secluded and easily controlled assembly place for the select and limited citizen body established by the Thirty. The careless and hurried workmanship throughout suggests a period of unrest and anarchy.

*Period 3.* The essential features of the third and last period in the history of the Pnyx have been visible ever since its construction. The great semicircular retaining wall, with a diameter of 119 m., lies almost parallel with that of Period 2, and *ca.* 13 m. north of it. The southern limit of the auditorium is marked by the lines of two deep scarps in the rock, which meet at the bema in the center at an angle of *ca.* 148 degrees. These lines extend east and west from the bema symmetrically for *ca.* 60 m., and then turn northward for *ca.* 18 m. on the circumference of the semicircle of the retaining wall. The scarp has a maximum height of *ca.* 7 m. on the eastern and *ca.* 3.50 m. on the western side. The mass of rock in front (north) of it was quarried into great blocks, which were used for the building of the retaining wall.

In the center the bema was cut from the living rock. It is 6.35 m. x 9.67 m. at the base and consists essentially of two parts: (1) a lower podium or platform, 8.35 m. x 5.80 m. in base area, approached by two steps on three sides, and (2) a higher, rough mass of rock, 3.30 m. x 2.90 m. in base area, approached by a flight of five narrow steps on the southern half of the east and west sides and with the lowest step continued all the way around. Dinsmoor, in proposing the restoration of a level seating floor, comes to the conclusion that the speaker stood on this higher cube of rock to gain sufficient prominence. But it is rather inconveniently small, and the uneven top surface is asserted by the excavators to be original.

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<sup>186</sup> *Themistocles*, 19 (cf. p. 47). It must be confessed, however, that such a project agrees ill with the impression noted above that the oligarchs tended to avoid holding assemblies on the Pnyx.

In front of this cube are the beddings for four stelae, and at its western side is a larger square bedding. Six rectangular and two round beddings are also preserved along the front line of the lower part of the bema. In these there must have stood herms, statues of the gods, and one or more desks for the use of the speakers. A series of six beddings probably supported posts for a railing separating the bema from the orchestra. Openings were left in this railing at either side and at the center in front. The bounding line for the north of the "orchestra" has been restored on the basis of a clue provided by a small square stele bedding lying parallel to the western side of the scarp. If symmetrically disposed around the bema, this would provide a level area with a total width of *ca.* 20 m.

The retaining wall was carefully built of huge blocks, and four courses are still preserved. There is reason to believe that there was originally but a single additional course.<sup>187</sup> This would leave the top of the stone retaining wall *ca.* 7 m. below the bottom of the bema. But in both the eastern and western wings it is almost certain that the slope of the seating floor was down toward the bema, for in the western wing the earth fill which still survives produces a gentle downward slope of *ca.* 4 degrees, and there is a corresponding though shallower fill in the eastern wing.<sup>188</sup> In both cases the slope is

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<sup>187</sup> Clarke and Crowe thought there were at least two additional courses, and Dinsmoor thinks that there were five. The latest excavators, however, would add only a single row in their reconstruction. They point out that toward the extremities of the wall on both its eastern and western sides the top surface of the surviving blocks shows that there was no higher course there. Hence, it is impossible to suppose that the wall in the center was carried up many more courses, since the level would not have been high enough on the outside to keep this earth filling from spilling over and completely burying the walls on the wings. Further, the existing fill rises nowhere more than 1 m. above the extant wall, and the rock fill is still covered with 2 m. of earth, so that it is impossible that any of this rock has disappeared. If the wall had been continued up many more courses, it would have been natural to continue the rock fill as well.

<sup>188</sup> Dinsmoor, in arguing for a level auditorium floor, suggests that



artificial and gradual.<sup>139</sup> There is no evidence for a similar slope in the middle of the auditorium, but if the sides sloped, it must necessarily have been made uniform with them. A slope of 4 degrees here would mean that at the northern edge the fill would have reached a height of *ca.* 4 m. above the level of the bottom of the bema. Hence, the total necessary additional height above the top of the stone retaining wall would be *ca.* 11 m. The only method which would provide this without leaving certain traces is an earth embankment, such as that suggested for Period 2.

An auditorium of this size would require at least one diazoma. Its logical line would extend from the point where a small stairway is cut in the western scarp, *ca.* 31 m. from the bema, to a corresponding point on the eastern side. There may also have been an open passage around the outside (north) edge of the auditorium. Two lines of stele beddings running parallel to the scarp suggest that the seating floor was divided radially into wedges.<sup>140</sup> Their location would indicate

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this is only earth which has been washed in from the terrace above in the course of later centuries. But such a uniform slope could hardly be due to natural causes. Further, the original quarry chips still remain on the rock floor beneath, and this floor shows no signs of wear. He would explain this by supposing that there was a thin rammed earth floor over the rock, but such a covering tramped down and hardened by long use would have been sure to leave traces, and absolutely none were found. Then, the difference in weathering on the contiguous western scarp above and below this fill proves it to be ancient. Finally, a rising floor was necessary if use was to be made of three steps which were cut in this western scarp to provide an auxiliary southern entrance. No trace was found of additional stairs, which would have been necessary if the floor had been level.

<sup>139</sup> The probability that it was considerably deeper is strengthened by the exposure of an unsightly bulk of stone in the southeast corner. This mass was evidently not needed and so left unquarried. The surface slopes toward the bema, so that an added filling to the height suggested would just cover it.

<sup>140</sup> On the west side four of these beddings were found, and on the east side two. Five of them are cut in bed-rock, but the westernmost is worked in the top of a large, roughly-squared block of limestone, the bottom of which rested on earth filling 0.40 m. above bed-rock.

that there were ten equal sections. The actual seats were probably of wood. The restoration provides a maximum radius of *ca.* 60 m. and an area, including the orchestra, of *ca.* 5550 sq. m., which would accommodate *ca.* ten thousand persons.

The small stairway in the south of the western wing could not have provided adequate entrance facilities to the auditorium. The natural place for the main entrance is at the north, where the stairways were situated in Period 2. Actually, there were found in the rock, below the center of the retaining wall, beddings and a few blocks of a series of seven parallel walls running at right angles to the great wall. Moreover, the top surface of the two blocks in the highest preserved course at the center of the retaining wall shows that they supported something other than the level blocks of a higher wall course. Hence, it is very likely that there was here a wide central stairway carried over the stone wall and up through the earth fill.

Above the western scarp are some blocks of a wall which is of a style and technique similar to that of the great retaining wall and obviously contemporaneous with it. Behind it there is still an artificial earth fill of a maximum height of *ca.* 1.50 m., and the indications are that it was originally carried up to the full height of the wall, forming a level terrace in front of a large colonnade. A corresponding colonnade, and no doubt a terrace, lay behind the eastern scarp. These would have afforded a convenient loitering place before and after meetings of the assembly and a shelter in case of rain.<sup>141</sup> The dressed rectangular surface *ca.* 6 m. x 8.90 m. in area and lying *ca.* 5.40 m. directly south of the bema is ap-

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This makes it probable that the other stelae at the back of the auditorium, where the fill was deeper, were similarly set and so have disappeared. The bedding of another such stele can probably be recognized in a block now washed far down the hill. This makes invalid Dinsmoor's argument that the deep fill would require stelae of an impossible length to mark the various sections.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. summary of Thompson's paper in *A. J. A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 123.

parently to be associated with Period 3. It probably marks the position of an altar.

Thompson has drastically revised his dating of this reconstruction of the Pnyx.<sup>142</sup> The two short-lived stoas are to be placed in the third quarter of the fourth century B. C., and it appears that the assembly place in its present form is contemporaneous. He suggests that the whole program was proposed and begun by Lycurgus. The lamps and other finds of the second century A. D., on which the former dating in the time of Hadrian partially depended, do seem to show that there was renewed activity on the Pnyx about that time.

*The Assembly Place at Argos* (Fig. 8). A series of rock-cut seats has long been discernible a short distance south of the large Theater in the east slope of the Larissa at Argos. This arrangement used to be called a "small Theater."<sup>143</sup> In 1912 Vollgraff carried out a small excavation there and reported:

Archaeologists have agreed in placing there a second ancient theater, and soundings have confirmed this. Well-preserved remains of a Roman Odeum of small size were found . . . But a more interesting calculation has been made. In the place occupied later by the Roman Odeum there was in the Classical period a very large assembly place. The wide benches of this Argive Pnyx were perfectly rectangular. They were changed, and in part destroyed, when the smaller cavea of the Odeum was cut in the rock.<sup>144</sup>

No reason is given for the change in terminology from theater to "Argive Pnyx," i. e. the assembly place of the Argive assembly. The latter term, however, and the use thus suggested have apparently been accepted.<sup>145</sup>

The limits of this auditorium are difficult to fix because of

<sup>142</sup> He is to publish his new conclusions in this regard in a forthcoming issue of *Hesperia* and meanwhile has informed me by letter of his proposed changes. Cf. *A. J. A.*, XLII, 1942, p. 123

<sup>143</sup> Vollgraff, *B. C. H.*, XXXI, 1907, p. 146.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, XLIV, 1920, p. 223.

<sup>145</sup> Cf. references to it in *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 90-217. This auditorium has never been described in detail, although it deserves careful study.

centuries of wear, exposure, and later cutting. Nevertheless, the careless and irregular cutting for the Odeum can be easily distinguished from the good earlier work. The Odeum had curving narrow seats,<sup>146</sup> while its predecessor had straight broad ones.<sup>147</sup> Apparently, the lowest seats of the Odeum have not been uncovered, and a trench dug through the center of the orchestra has been partially filled. The curving



Fig. 8. Assembly Place on Larissa, Argos, from southeast.

seats cut into the straight ones in the lower part of the northern side, but in the corresponding southern side the earlier seats are preserved. The reason for this is made clear by the presence of a late diagonal (east-west) wall which must have supported a shallow earth fill on which the curving seats of the southern side were built. The rock there is somewhat lower, due to the very gradual slope down toward the south. Higher up the hill there is no sign of curving seats. It may be that only the lower seats of the Odeum were curved, and

<sup>146</sup> Width ca. 0.46 m. to 0.58 m.; height of riser ca. 0.31 m. to 0.34 m.

<sup>147</sup> Width 0.85 m. to 0.88 m.; height of riser 0.27 m.

that, above these, use was made of the earlier rectilinear ones; or the straight seats may have been under a shallow earth fill in the Roman period.

The earlier auditorium had a single central stairway which is still quite easy to distinguish.<sup>148</sup> The fact that its dimensions are in proportion to the rectilinear seats leaves no doubt that it was connected with them. The six lowest steps, however, are turned slightly to the north of the line of the higher steps and are more irregularly cut. In this lower section the seats on the north side are the later curved ones, and the lower steps of the stairway apparently also belong to the later period.

The best preserved section of the earlier auditorium is a series of nine rows of broad seats in the lower southern section.<sup>149</sup> They are uniform and well cut. Above them there is a gap with room for two rows of the same dimensions, and above this six similar rows are preserved. Immediately above these there are three steps or seats of dimensions only about half of those of the lower rows. Then there is a gap with room for three rows of wide seats (or six narrow ones), and above this another cutting which is almost certainly for another wide seat. Further up the slope the rock is now quite rough. Thus, there were at least twenty-four rows of seats in the southern section. In the northern section the lower seats are badly destroyed by the cutting for the Odeum. Opposite the fifth seat of the southern section, however, there is a continuation of the straight line and of the greater width of seat.<sup>150</sup> From that point, wide seats of similar dimensions may be traced upward for thirteen rows, then there is a gap in which there is room for five rows, then three rows are

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<sup>148</sup> Its width is *ca.* 0.83 m. There are some twenty-two steps preserved, 0.44 m. to 0.50 m. in width and 0.13 m. to 0.15 m. in height of riser.

<sup>149</sup> The parts of the earlier auditorium on either side of this central stairway will be referred to as the northern and southern sections.

<sup>150</sup> There is some later cutting up to the seventh step on the north side, especially at the north end.

preserved, then room for three more, and finally traces of another three seats. There is evidence on the northern side, then, for twenty-seven rows of seats, and to these must be added the five which certainly existed below them, opposite those preserved in the southern section. Hence, there was in the northern section a minimum of thirty-two rows of seats.<sup>151</sup>

There is very little concavity in this auditorium. Indeed, up to the ninth row the seats are in a perfectly straight line continuing on either side of the central stairway.<sup>152</sup> Above this there is certainly a change, although the frequent gaps and breaks make it difficult to measure or judge exactly. The rows of seats in both sections are still perfectly rectilinear, but they apparently meet in a very obtuse angle at the central stairway, i. e. the straight line is no longer produced through the whole width of the auditorium.

The length of the rows cannot now be fixed with absolute certainty. A projecting ridge of rock in the lower northern section forms the northern boundary of the seats there. The southern boundary of the whole southern section would appear to be formed by a narrow and shallow gorge which runs vertically down the Larissa.<sup>153</sup> Hence, the length of the lower rows may probably be fixed at *ca.* 25.50 m. The upper ones may have been somewhat longer, but, calculating this length for all, there must have been room in the auditorium

<sup>151</sup> There are no certain traces of a diazoma. It might be noticed that above the eighteenth row of seats there is a gap in both sections. No cutting of any systematic kind is visible in the rock, but some sort of wooden platform might have been set at this point.

<sup>152</sup> It has been noted that the lower six are no longer preserved in the northern section, but the straight line is carried all the way through in the three which are preserved.

<sup>153</sup> In a higher ridge beyond (south of) this, there is a cutting in line with a row of seats, and it is just possible that this is an indication that wooden seats fitted in the irregularities. No cuttings, however, are visible which could be interpreted as being intended for the supports necessary in such an arrangement. It is also possible that this little gorge is of a later date than the period of use of the auditorium.

for over eighteen hundred persons.<sup>154</sup> There are indications that the entrance to this assembly place led in over the shoulder of the hill at the north side.<sup>155</sup>

Without the complete investigation of the level area to the front, it is impossible to settle the question as to whether this arrangement was used as a theater or as a meeting place for the political assembly. In the fifth century B. C. it may well have served both purposes. Rock cutting is difficult to date, and the excavator mentions no other evidence for dating. General indications, however, would point to this auditorium's having been anterior to the great Theater just to the north, i. e. before the fourth century B. C. Hence, it may have served as the Theater of Argos before the larger one was constructed. Perhaps the political assembly continued even after the fourth century to meet in the older auditorium.

### (3) *Hellenistic and Roman*

An arrangement which was sometimes used for assemblies (usually of an informal character) was a platform or bema built in the agora. On this the speaker and officials stood or sat, and their raised position better enabled the crowds standing around on the level surface of the agora to see and hear the proceedings. Perhaps there was such a bema in the agora in most Greek cities of this time, although they are seldom specifically mentioned in literature.<sup>156</sup> They rarely appear in the excavated agoras, but they must often have been built of wood and thus have disappeared. A few surviving stone constructions, however, have been so identified.

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<sup>154</sup> 32 rows x 25.50 m.  $\approx$  816 m., and allowing 0.45 m. for each person, some eighteen hundred people could be accommodated.

<sup>155</sup> This has been partly obliterated by cuttings for the Odeum, especially cuttings for a level space far out in the north wing. This may have been for the placing of a seat of honor. A series of seven steps led up to it.

<sup>156</sup> It is possible that such constructions were sometimes used in the case of recorded assemblies in the agora, but this arrangement was much more popular in Italian cities of the Roman period, where every forum had its tribunal. The word "bema" is used in this sense in the New Testament.

In Athens of the first century B. C. a bema is known to have stood in the Agora in front of the Stoa of Attalus.<sup>157</sup> Excavation has revealed a large rectangular foundation, measuring 8.50 m. x 9.95 m., which lies parallel with the central part of that Stoa, and just in front (west) of it.<sup>158</sup> It was built later than the Stoa and was destroyed in the third century A. D. To the west there was a large area quite devoid of buildings. This construction has been tentatively identified as the bema mentioned by Athenaeus, and the open area would have accommodated the listeners.

At Corinth a bema is known to have existed in the first century A. D.,<sup>159</sup> and a rectangular podium, measuring 14.90 m. x 7 m., which has been uncovered in the center of the Agora there has been so identified.<sup>160</sup> It has a commanding situation where the change in level occurs. Its northern edge projects into the lower part of the Agora and is *ca.* 2.13 m. above the pavement, while its southern edge is approximately on pavement level. Three marble steps ran along the base on the north, east, and west sides, and above them there was apparently a revetment of marble. The heavy marble stylobate along the south side bears traces of two large piers or columns between antae, and the only entrance seems to have been from this direction. This construction was flanked on the east and west by an open room, and stairs beyond these connected the two levels of the Agora. A Christian church was later built on its foundation, and it is plausible that the spot where St. Paul was accused by the Corinthian Jews should have been thus commemorated.

A construction discovered in the northeast corner of the Agora at Assos has also been called a bema.<sup>161</sup> It consists of a small irregular stone platform, *ca.* 6 m. x 5 m., with steps along the south side. The upper area is divided into three

<sup>157</sup> Cf. p. 60.

<sup>158</sup> Shear, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 324.

<sup>159</sup> *Acts of the Apostles*, XVIII, 12-17.

<sup>160</sup> Broneer, *Arch. Eph.*, 1937, pp. 125-128, Pl. I.

<sup>161</sup> Clarke and Bacon, *Investigations at Assos*, pp. 29, 33, Figs. 2, 4.



sections at different heights, the lowest at the east at a height of two steps, the next at the southwest at a height of three steps, and the highest at the northwest at a height of five steps. This construction lies directly in front (west) of the Bouleuterion. In form it is not unlike the bema in the Athenian Pnyx, but it is not as suitable for a bema as for a group of statues, and the numerous other statue bases and stele beddings in front of it would tend to cut it off from a crowd gathered in the Agora. Its identification must be considered as more uncertain than those discussed above.

In the Forum at Philippi a rectangular podium, 8.70 m. x 4.35 m., occupied the center of the north side.<sup>162</sup> It was approached by small stairways at the east and west, and there are holes in the pavement which show that a grille extended in front of the platform, with gaps for gates opposite the stairways. It forms an independent unit dominating the whole Forum, and the excavators confidently identified it as a speaker's platform or bema.

### *Ecclesiasteria*

An out-of-door arrangement was the usual and natural meeting place for the assembly, and there were few roofed buildings in Greek cities of any period which could accommodate the whole voting assembly of a large city. There was, too, the problem of the interference with vision caused by the presence of interior columns placed at frequent intervals for the support of the roof of large buildings. Yet even at a comparatively early period roofed buildings were erected as meeting places for the assembly.<sup>163</sup> The remains of buildings identified as ecclesiasteria have been discovered at Priene and Delos, and they will be discussed in the following pages.<sup>164</sup>

<sup>162</sup> Collart, *Philippes* (Paris, 1937), vol. of text, p. 332.

<sup>163</sup> Cf. pp. 62-65.

<sup>164</sup> The discussion of these buildings and of the bouleuteria in Chapter VI has, for the sake of clearness, been divided under four headings: Situation, Description, Identification, Date. They will be treated in this order, except in a few cases where certain considerations make it necessary to reverse the order of the last two headings.



Fig. 9. Ecclesiasterion, Priene, from north.



Fig. 10. Ecclesiasterion, Priene, from southwest.

*Priene.* (Plate VI, Figs. 9-10)

*Situation.* The Ecclesiasterion here is one of the best preserved buildings of its period at this or any other Greek site.<sup>105</sup> It adjoins the Agora on the south, has Athena Street and the Theater to the north, a wide corridor and the "Holy Stoa" to the west, and the Prytaneum to the east.

*Description.* Its outside walls form an almost perfect square, 20.25 m. east-west and 21.06 m. north-south. Like most buildings in Priene, its foundations are dug into the side hill, so that the seats on the north side rest on the rock; the east and west wings at right angles to it are supported on an artificial fill of rubble and gravel. There were sixteen rows of seats on the north side and ten on the east and west, and they are still complete almost to the top row. A line of stone pillars, six on each side counting the corner pillars twice, extends around the top seat on the three sides. They stand only *ca.* 1.50 m. from the outer wall, and in the intervening space is a corridor running around the back of the auditorium. The level of the corridor at the north is *ca.* 3 m. higher than at the east and west. Hence, a flight of steps was necessary at both the northeast and northwest corners. One door in the northwest corner leads from the corridor directly into Athena Street, while another in the west side gives access from the corridor to the wide stairway which leads from the North Hall of the Agora to Athena Street.

The seats in the auditorium are divided into three sections (*κερκίδες*) by four stairways, two of which run east-west just inside the "parodos" walls, while the other two ascend diagonally from the northeast and northwest corners of the "orchestra." The stairways and seats are of the regular profiles and dimensions for the period. There were no seats of honor in the auditorium proper, and only the seats in the uppermost row had backs. The open space or orchestra in the center of the auditorium is 5 m. x 3.65 m. in area. Except for a narrow stone foot-rest next to the lowest row of seats, it

<sup>105</sup> Wiegand and Schrader, *Priene*, pp. 219-231. Cf. also the restoration in Schede, *Die Ruinen von Priene*, pp. 63-68, Fig. 76.

was unpaved, and the surface was of stamped clay. In the center was an elaborate square altar, now much damaged by fire. In addition to various mouldings and other carved ornament, each of its four faces bore the bust of a god in relief. Two of these are certainly Asclepius and Apollo, and the others are probably Hermes and Heracles. The "parodos" walls which bound the auditorium on the south are set slightly obliquely, as is usual in theaters. The rubble fill, however, continues through them up to the outside south wall, and there was a stairway in either parodos leading up to the rear corridor.

In the outside south wall two doors were set symmetrically, giving access from the North Hall of the Agora. Between these doors and directly opposite the orchestra is the most distinctive feature of this building, a rectangular niche or exedra with a bench on each of its three sides. It had an arched window in the center at the back, and there were probably other windows in the upper walls at the north and west sides of the building.

The only serious problem in the restoration of the building is the roofing. The inner span between the pillars is *ca.* 14.50 m., and it is almost certain that there were no other supports nearer the center. The exact type of roof construction is unknown, but this span, although rather large for a Greek building, certainly could have been covered with the knowledge of bracing which had been attained by that period.<sup>166</sup> The central part of the exedra must have been open to the sky, but there is no doubt that the auditorium as a whole was roofed. Later repairs show attempts to strengthen the supports, and at some period the pillars were replaced by others which were set *ca.* 2 m. nearer the center.

*Identification.* The location of the building among other

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<sup>166</sup> Cf. specifications of the complicated roofing problem in the approximately contemporaneous Arsenal of Philo at Athens. The large amount of burnt wood found in the auditorium at Priene points to a considerable amount of timber in the roof. The tiles were set in clay and were painted.

public and civil edifices and the arrangement of the exedra point to its having been an auditorium for political purposes. Also, on two different blocks in the outside wall of the building<sup>107</sup> and at about eye level is the inscription  $\text{P E}$ , which is best explained as meaning "boundary of the ecclesia" or "boundary of the Ecclesiasterion" ( $\delta\text{ρος ἐκκλησίας}$ , or  $\delta\text{ρος ἐκκλησιαστηρίου}$ ).<sup>108</sup> Another inscription, on the inner side of the south wall just west of the exedra, reads  $\text{P A}$ , which Wiegand takes to mean "boundary of the platform" ( $\delta\text{ρος λογείου}$ ). The *logeion* or speaker's platform, if there actually was one, must have been made of wood and set in the space between the benches of the exedra and the altar. It is also possible that the orator merely stood on the floor in this area, which could then be referred to as the *logeion*. The exedra with its benches facing the rest of the auditorium was almost certainly for the accommodation of the presiding officers and secretaries. It would seat twenty at the most. Any other suitable explanation for such an arrangement would be difficult to find.

At first thought, the building seems very small to accommodate the whole voting assembly of the town, for its capacity is only *ca.* six hundred forty. But Wiegand has calculated the whole population of Priene at *ca.* four thousand, which leaves two thousand to three thousand free citizens. When women and children are counted out, he thinks there would not have been more than five hundred voting male citizens. Hence, there would be room left in the building for over one hundred rural landlords, and it would appear to have been quite adequate for the assembly of this little town. It is quite likely that the council also held its meetings here. No other suitable

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<sup>107</sup> These are the first block above the orthostate course in the south wall near the exedra and a projecting block in the same course in the east wall.

<sup>108</sup> For similar inscriptions on walls of buildings in Priene, cf. Wiegand and Schrader, *op. cit.*, p. 230 and note 2. On the word *λογεῖον* cf. D. M. Robinson, *A. J. P.*, XXV, 1904, p. 191; *I. G.*, XI<sup>2</sup>, 161, l. 126, p. 53.

building was discovered in the civic center, and this building was perhaps also called "Bouleuterion."<sup>169</sup>

*Date.* The Ecclesiasterion is somewhat earlier than the contiguous North Hall of the Agora. This is proved by the older building technique<sup>170</sup> and by the fact that the north wall of the hall shut out a great deal of the light from the arched window of the exedra and rendered it partially useless. Hence, the Ecclesiasterion must date from the beginning of the second or from the third century B. C. No find or inscription gives any more specific dating. Some later repair is noticeable in the pillars supporting the roof, in the exedra, and in the short end pillars of the parodos walls.<sup>171</sup>

*Delos.* (Plate VII)

*Situation.* The existence of a building called "Ecclesiasterion" is well attested in Delian inscriptions.<sup>172</sup> The first occurrence of the word is in an inscription of 231 B. C. The most useful references, however, are in the inscribed inventories of the second century B. C., which list the objects stored in the various public buildings. It has been shown that the order followed in enumerating these buildings is a topographical one, and a good many edifices have been satisfactorily identified with the help of these lists and of known buildings. The "oikos near the Ecclesiasterion" and the

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<sup>169</sup> Cf. p. 152. The excavators call attention to the common honorary formula in inscribed decrees voting maintenance in the Prytaneum and Panionium and a share in the rites and sacrifices "in the *boulé*." They suggest that this has to do with the altar in this building.

<sup>170</sup> E. g., the frugal employment of horizontal eaves.

<sup>171</sup> The first repair involved a slight increase in the size of pillars and shifting them *ca.* 2 m. inward, so that the roof span was a little over 10 m. Later, they were further supported by buttresses of mortar, and heavy and light pillars were alternated. Five capitals from this period are preserved.

<sup>172</sup> Vallois, *B. C. H.*, LIII, 1929, pp. 278-312, Pl. IX. Cf. the early pages of this article for a list and discussion of all the Delian inscriptions bearing in any way on the *Ecclesiasterion* (repairs, contents, situation, etc.).

Ecclesiasterion occur in these lists soon after the buildings in the precinct of Apollo, immediately after the Thesmophorium, and before the *Dodekatheon*.<sup>173</sup> Vallois therefore concludes that they are to be sought north of the precinct of Apollo and that they were not far away, since the *oikos* housed a precious collection of works of art belonging to the god. He identifies as the remains of the Ecclesiasterion a complex of walls having the Thesmophorium immediately to the west, the portico of the Artemisium to the south, the "édifice nord" to the east, and a street to the north.

*Description.* The walls of this building show great variety in material and technique, and there are obviously several different periods in their construction. Vallois has come to certain conclusions in this regard, and the results, although unsatisfactory, are the best that can be done with this maze.

*Period 1* (indicated in solid black). The walls on the north and the northern part of the west side of room X belong to the earliest known construction on this site. The northern one, 14.30 m. long and with a preserved height of *ca.* 2.60 m., is the best constructed and best preserved of any in the building. The other is preserved only *ca.* 6 m. south of their junction.<sup>174</sup> It is quite impossible to reconstruct the form of the building in this period.


*Period 2* (indicated by ///). At this time the building consisted of a single long rectangular hall, *ca.* 12 m. x 24 m. in area, comprising room Y and the northern two-thirds of room X.<sup>175</sup> No indications remain as to its interior arrange-

<sup>173</sup> *Inscriptions de Délos*, 1417, A, ll. 8 ff., 156 B. C.; *ibid.*, 403, ll. 25-27, 189 B. C.

<sup>174</sup> The two walls are bonded together at the corner. Otherwise, one would think that they belonged to different periods, for the courses of white marble in the northern wall do not continue in the western, and the former is 0.65 m. wide, while the latter is only 0.50 m. The later walls show an even greater lack of homogeneity.

<sup>175</sup> The western part of the south wall is almost entirely missing, but a few stones seem to make certain its continuation. The threshold

ment. A threshold of blue marble for double doors is still in situ in the southern wall of room Y, and, since it is off the axis of that room, Vallois concludes that it belonged to Period 2 and that there was probably another placed symmetrically in the western part of the south wall.<sup>176</sup>

*Period 3* (indicated by ) . In this reconstruction the western part of the hall was apparently enlarged so as to include the whole area of room X. Vallois assigns to the end of this period or the beginning of the fourth the construction of an apse 5.10 m. in diameter in the middle of the north wall of room X.<sup>177</sup> He apparently assumes that the western part of the south wall of the hall of Period 2 was pulled down at this time.<sup>178</sup>

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which gave access to the passage between this building and that to the east probably dates in the same period.

<sup>176</sup> There is a threshold block of similar marble now lying in the northeast corner of room Y.

<sup>177</sup> It is now impossible to see any trace of this apse.

<sup>178</sup> Mention is made in the accounts of both 200 and 199 B. C. of an order for white marble parastades for the *Ecclesiasterion* (*Inscriptions de Délos*, 372, A, ll. 139-144; *ibid.*, 50, ll. 167, 168). There were fifty-one pieces with a total measurement of only thirty-four feet. This means that each piece had a dimension of 0.222 m. Three sections of parastades and four capitals, which Vallois associates with those mentioned in the inscriptions, were found in and around this building. He concludes that the dimension mentioned refers to the height of the capitals. This is 0.21 m. and comes nearest to that required. Since there were fifty-one of them (an odd number), he believes that the parastades stood against the wall all around the *Ecclesiasterion* and were not arranged in rows in the interior. The large number would go best with the period when the greatest space was enclosed, i. e. Period 3. This would give them an axial interval of 1.58 m. It is doubtful, however, if it can be deduced from the inscription that there were fifty-one complete parastades in the *Ecclesiasterion*. The fifty-one pieces may have been sections or drums and may have belonged to a much smaller number of interior supports. Vallois also found a part of a parastas and a capital which are not rectangular in section, but in the form of a parallelogram, and he assigns them to a slightly later period, when the apse was built and parastades were supposedly set in it.



*Period 4.* This comprises only minor alterations in the court immediately to the south of the main hall.<sup>179</sup>

*Period 5.* In this period the wall which separates rooms X and Y was built.<sup>180</sup> The larger western division (X) measures 16.60 m. x 14.50 m. A large, covered statue base or *naiskos* was built against its north wall at the center. This naiskos has a mixed entablature with triglyphs and dentils, supported on two Ionic columns and two pilasters. In it stood a great bronze statue, probably that of an emperor. The space against the wall to the west of the naiskos is now occu-

<sup>179</sup> The eastern wall was continued south in a narrower wall as far as the portico of the Artemisium. Vallois says that access to the court was gained through a door in this wall. The only threshold preserved in this wall is of grey granite and is directly opposite the eastward continuation of the south wall of room X. This door cannot have been in use after the east-west wall was completed, for the wall is still preserved slightly above the level of the threshold. Hence, Vallois must be mistaken in attributing this wall in its present form to a period earlier than the north-south wall. It might have been demolished when the north-south wall was constructed and rebuilt considerably later on the same line. The only other possibility would be that the threshold was re-used in the wall and that there was never a door at that point.

Vallois believes that the expressions "Graphai," "the Graphai in the Ecclesiasterion," and "the *oikos* next to the Ecclesiasterion," which often occur in inscriptions, all refer to the same building—that immediately to the east of the Ecclesiasterion and formerly called the *édifice nord*. He argues that the expression "in the Ecclesiasterion" would have been used until the continuation of the east wall was built, for up to that time the building was included in the same temenos as the Ecclesiasterion. After their separation, "near the Ecclesiasterion" was the correct designation. Hence, an inscription of 250 B. C. (*Inscriptions de Délos*, 287 A, ll. 52, 53), which has to do with repairs to doors "near the Graphé" and the setting of a water basin nearby, probably refers to the doors giving access to the corridor between the two buildings. It would be through these that those going into the Ecclesiasterion entered and washed in the lustral water in the basin.

<sup>180</sup> This wall is obviously built up against the north wall and therefore is later, but it is difficult to distinguish it in any way from its southern continuation, which is assigned to Period 3.

pied by four stone benches with backs, and east of the naiskos there is another bench. They originally belonged to the Theater. It would seem that this period, rather than 3 or 4 as Vallois believes, would be the logical time for the construction of the apse in this room. The main entrance or entrances must have been in the south wall.<sup>181</sup>

The smaller room (Y), which measures 11.90 m. x 9.57 m., also has a base, presumably for a statue, in the center of its north side. A support for another Theater seat lies in it, but it is not in situ.

*Identification.* This rests almost entirely on epigraphical information as to the general situation, and the relative situation in regard to other known buildings.<sup>182</sup> There is no strong internal evidence to support the identification. With the possible exception of the pilasters, various repairs which are mentioned in inscriptions cannot be identified in the ruins of this building. Moreover, the changes in the building in the different periods are hard to explain, if it was always a permanent auditorium. Its form in Period 1 cannot be determined. In Period 2 the building might have served the purpose, preferably with the addition of a row of central supports. But it is difficult to see how the auditorium could have been adapted so as to make use of the increased space in Period 3. The axial balance of the whole building would have been disturbed, especially if the apse in the south wall of room X was constructed in this period.

The large room X of Period 5, with the apse in the south wall, has the most intelligible plan for an auditorium.<sup>183</sup> It

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<sup>181</sup> It could not have been at the north or east, for the walls there are preserved to a considerable height and show no sign of any gap. The wall is low at the west, and there are indications that a door may have been located on that side. But this cannot have been the main entrance, since it opens on a very narrow alley. Hence, it must have been in the south and was probably west of the apse, since the wall is preserved for several courses at the east.

<sup>182</sup> Cf. the section on situation. The other identifications are themselves not absolutely sure but are generally accepted.

<sup>183</sup> It was apparently a kind of heroum. Cf. a similar later use of

doubtless had other seats in addition to those preserved. Vallois sees in the building of this period the assembly place for those "living in the island," and he suggests that room X was for the Athenians, while room Y was a chapel and assembly place for the other residents.

*Date.* The following is a table of Vallois' dating of the various periods in the construction.

- 1st half of fifth century B. C. ?—construction of an assembly hall east of the Thesmophorium (i. e. Period 1).
- 402-394 B. C.—construction of *édifice nord* (sacred to Artemis?).
- Fourth century or beginning of third century B. C.—construction of Period 2, *édifice nord* annexed to *Ecclésiasterion*.
- Middle of third century B. C.—construction of Period 3.
- ca. 200 B. C.—addition of parastades.
- 192-167 B. C. ?—construction of apse with parastades in south wall of room X.
- 190-158/5 B. C.—construction of Period 4.
- First century B. C. ?—construction of Period 5.
- End of first century B. C.—construction in room X of naiskos for imperial statue (?); placing of benches taken from the Theater.
- Christian times—room X apparently used as a church or baptistery.

part of the Bouleuterion at Mantinea (p. 200) and part of the Metroon at Athens (pp. 270-271).

## CHAPTER V

### THE FEDERAL LEAGUES

The federal movement is one of the most interesting of Greek political developments, and the numerous leagues, varying greatly in the details of organization and in the scope of their activities, have received considerable attention.<sup>1</sup> An essay on the political meeting places of the Greeks must include an attempt to systematize the available evidence as to the cities, and, where possible, the exact building or other arrangement in which the councils and assemblies of these leagues were convened.<sup>2</sup> The most workable system seems to be an alphabetical arrangement according to the names of the various leagues. The list which follows is by no means exhaustive, but is designed to cover all the important leagues for which there is pertinent information in the period of political independence.<sup>3</sup> There will be no attempt to separate the various types of federal organizations, e. g. (a) those created by, and existing for the purposes of a king or tyrant, as the

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. especially Freeman, *History of Federal Government in Greece and Italy* (London, 1893); Swoboda, *Hermann's Lehrbuch der griechischen Antiquitäten*, I, 3, pp. 203-443; Fougères, in Daremberg-Saglio, *op. cit.*, s. v. "Koinon"; Tarn, *C. A. H.*, VII, ch. 6, and his bibliography on pp. 883, 884.

<sup>2</sup> No attempt will be made here, as in the case of the city councils and assemblies, to keep separate the meeting places of the league councils and assemblies. In the federal leagues, much more than in the individual cities, they blend into one another, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish a large representative council from a restricted assembly. Also, the words used by various ancient authors to designate the various types of political body are often confusing. No original research has been attempted on the question of chronology, but the opinion of the most competent authorities has been accepted.

<sup>3</sup> The word usually used in Greek to designate these bodies is *κοινόν*, and this generally has been translated "league."

early Magnesians league; <sup>4</sup> (b) those developed out of cantonal communes, as the Aetolian league; and (c) those formed by a combination of sovereign cities, as the Achaean league. A separate section has been devoted to Panhellenic leagues, and another to the Delphic Amphictyony.

*Achaean League.* There was a league of twelve Achaean cities at least as early as the first half of the fourth century B. C.<sup>5</sup> At that time it appears to have been chiefly a religious Amphictyony, with headquarters at the famous sanctuary of Poseidon at Helice.<sup>6</sup> But it also had political interests, and the center of its political organization seems from the first to have been at Aegium.<sup>7</sup> The meeting place at Aegium was the Amarium, the sanctuary of Zeus "Amarius" ('Αμάριος).<sup>8</sup> The frequent variants of this epitheton have given philologists a considerable amount of trouble.<sup>9</sup> Polybius speaks of the

<sup>4</sup> Demetrius Polioretetes, about 293 B. C., founded the city of Demetrias, which became the capital and meeting place of the so-called Magnesians league. But this was really a kind of synoecism, since all the other cities of the league were reduced to the position of demes (cf. I. G., IX, 1109). Cf. F. Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, pp. 68 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Polybius, II, 41.

<sup>6</sup> Strabo, VIII, 7, 2; Pausanias, VII, 24, 5.

<sup>7</sup> Freeman believed it likely that the political capital was at Helice until its destruction in 373 B. C. (cf. Strabo and Pausanias, *loc. cit.*). But this is sufficiently refuted by Livy's statement (XXXVIII, 30, 2) that meetings were held at Aegium "a principio" and by Polybius' account (II, 39, 6) of the formation of a league before 371 B. C. in Magna Graecia, in which the organization of the Achaean league was copied and a league headquarters, called "Amarium," was built like the one at Aegium. Hence, the Amarium at Aegium must have been the meeting place of the Achaean league at least as early as the first quarter of the fourth century B. C. Also, a passage in Diodorus Siculus (XV, 49) suggests that the early meetings of the league were held elsewhere than at Helice, and that this sanctuary was not common ground.

<sup>8</sup> Strabo, VIII, 7, 3 and 5. He uses the expression *ἄλσος*, but this word does not necessarily mean literally a grove. The common type of bronze coins of the league represents a standing Zeus Amarius with a Nike and scepter (Seltman, *Greek Coins*, p. 256).

<sup>9</sup> 'Αρνάριος, 'Αμάριος, 'Ομόριος, 'Ομάριος and others occur; cf. Jones in

"Homarion" (Ὁμάριον) at Aegium,<sup>10</sup> and the resulting form of the god's epitheton would be Homarius (Ὁμάριος). This form has an interesting connection with a passage in which Pausanias tells of a sanctuary of Zeus "Homagyrius" (Ὁμαγύριος = the Assembler).<sup>11</sup> This precinct was down by the sea at Aegium, and in it were statues of Zeus, Aphrodite, and Athena. Zeus, says Pausanias, was given the title "Assembler" because at this place Agamemnon had assembled the most eminent men of Greece to deliberate on war against Troy. Hence, this would be the logical place for the Achaean league to choose as its meeting place. Strabo says that the Achaeans, as did the Ionians before them, dealt with affairs of common interest in the Amarium.<sup>12</sup> This emphasizes the tradition behind the meeting place in Aegium, and it is quite likely that Ἀμάριος = Ἀμάριος = Ὁμάριος = Ὁμαγύριος.<sup>13</sup>

The Amarium, then, appears to have been the same as Pausanias' sanctuary of Zeus Homagyrius, and a few more details about the meeting place can now be added. It was down by the sea near other sanctuaries and contained statues of Zeus, Aphrodite, and Athena.<sup>14</sup> In it there was a bema

Loeb edition of Strabo, IV, p. 214, note, and references cited there. Meineke and Kramer would read in Strabo, Ἀμάριον.

<sup>10</sup> V, 93, 10.

<sup>11</sup> VII, 24, 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>13</sup> This equation is suggested in Liddell and Scott, *op. cit.*, s. v. "Ἀμάριος." The epitheton "Amarius" is usually derived from the Aeolic and Doric form for ἡμέριος, and so would designate the divinity of the broad daylight. Apparently, the earlier title "Homagyrius" was popularly changed into "Homarius" (the Joiner-together); later Homarius and Hamarius or Amarius were equated, although there is apparently no semantic connection. Cf. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, I, p. 43; Cook, *Zeus*, I, pp. 16, 17.

Livy (XXXVIII, 30, 3) was puzzled as to the reason why all the league meetings were held at Aegium. He decided that it was owing either to the importance of the city or to its convenience, but a more convincing reason now appears.

<sup>14</sup> Pausanias, *loc. cit.* The official oath of the Achaean league was sworn "by Zeus Amarius, Athena Amaria, Aphrodite, and all the gods" (Collitz, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, II, 1634, ll. 7-9).

for the speakers,<sup>15</sup> and an altar of Hestia beside which stelae inscribed with league decrees were set.<sup>16</sup> In addition, it may be taken for granted that some provision, probably of a simple nature, was made for the seating of the ordinary members of the assembly. They were numerous, probably several thousands, and there can be no question of their meeting in the temple of the god. Indeed, his precinct must have been quite large to accommodate them.

The league was dissolved toward the end of the fourth century B. C., but it began to be organized again in 280 B. C. By the middle of the third century B. C. its power was being felt, and it was joined by several cities of the northern Peloponnese, including Sicyon, Corinth, Argos, Megalopolis, and at one time even Messene. Its fortunes varied, but it was always important until it shared the fate of all the Greek leagues, being dissolved by Mummius in 146 B. C. During its *floruit* there are frequent references to the places where the league held its meeting. The executive bodies consisted of: (1) a general representative council (σύνοδος, ἐκκλησία) of great size, which held two regular meetings a year in April and September; (2) an advisory council (βουλή); (3) an extraordinary full assembly (σύγκλητος) which passed on alliances, peace, and war; (4) an annual mass meeting to conduct the elections.<sup>17</sup>

Until the early years of the second century B. C. Aegium was the regular meeting place of all these bodies. Yet, even before this date, there are instances of a league assembly meeting elsewhere. In 218 B. C. an assembly was convened "according to the laws" at Aegium, but Philip, since he wished to favor Aratus and saw the Achaeans ill-disposed, had it

<sup>15</sup> Plutarch, *Cleomenes*, 25, 2.

<sup>16</sup> Polybius, V, 93, 10; Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*, no. 39, ll. 36, 37.

<sup>17</sup> These terms and others are used, often inaccurately, by the various authorities, and a good deal of confusion still exists in this regard. An attempt has been made in the following notes to specify, where possible, the kind of assembly and date, as well as the source material.

transferred to Sicyon, the home town of Aratus.<sup>18</sup> This appears not to have been one of the regular assemblies but an extraordinary one called at Philip's special request, and it is clear that even in that case Aegium was the regular and lawful place to convene. Other meetings, probably for special purposes and of the extraordinary category, were held at Sicyon<sup>19</sup> and at Argos,<sup>20</sup> and a meeting was arranged to take place at Lerna.<sup>21</sup>

In 189 B. C. a movement was launched to take away from Aegium the right to be the seat of all the regular league meetings. Livy writes of it:

The consul [Fabius] . . . crossed to the Peloponnesus whither the Aegians especially . . . had long been summoning him. From the beginning of the Achaean League the meetings of the assembly had all been called for Aegium, whether this was a tribute to the importance of the city or the convenience of the place. This custom Philopoemen, in this year for the first time, was trying to break down, and was preparing to propose a law that the meetings should be held in all of the cities which belonged to the Achaean League in rotation. And, at the approach of the consul, when the *damiurgi* of the cities called the meeting at Aegium, Philopoemen—he was then praetor—summoned it at Argos. When it was clear that almost all would assemble there, the consul, although he favoured the cause of the Aegians, also went to Argos; when the argument had begun there and he saw that the Aegian case was weaker, he gave up his purpose.<sup>22</sup>

There can be no doubt but that this agitation for a change was successful; it is noticeable that, when the place of meeting is specified, the overwhelming number of assemblies after this date took place in cities other than Aegium. From 188 B. C. until 146 B. C. mention is made of two meetings of the league

<sup>18</sup> Polybius, V, 1, 6-10.

<sup>19</sup> In 223 B. C., Plutarch, *Aratus*, 41, 1; 198 B. C., Livy, XXXII, 19, 6.

<sup>20</sup> *Ca.* 224 B. C., Plutarch, *Cleomenes*, 17, 1; 200 B. C., Livy, XXXI, 25, 2.

<sup>21</sup> *Ca.* 224 B. C., Plutarch, *ibid.*, 15, 2.

<sup>22</sup> XXXVIII 30, 1-5.



at Megalopolis,<sup>23</sup> three at Sicyon,<sup>24</sup> three at Argos,<sup>25</sup> four at Corinth,<sup>26</sup> one at Clitor,<sup>27</sup> and two at Aegium.<sup>28</sup> One of the meetings held at Sicyon is said to have met in the Theater.<sup>29</sup>

Clearly, Aegium had been dispossessed of the exclusive right to be the meeting place of the league. It can hardly be determined whether the proposed rotating system was carried out rigidly, but, with the considerable mass of available data, it is perhaps significant that there is no certain case of the same city having been the meeting place in two consecutive years.<sup>30</sup> The frequent changes in the status of many of the cities in respect to the league would probably have dislocated any regular system of rotation. Also, it is fairly clear that the agitation for a move from Aegium was a matter of petty jealousy on the part of members from other cities; in the very next year, 188 B. C., the first meeting was held at Megalopolis, the home city of Philopoemen who engineered the change.<sup>31</sup> One phrase in Polybius' description of this meeting is of special interest. When confusion arose in connection with an alliance with Ptolemy, he says that no one replied, but all babbled among themselves and the "bouleu-

<sup>23</sup> *Synodos*, 183/2 B. C., Polybius, XXIII, 16, 12. This is called the "second session" and no doubt refers to the second of the two annual meetings. *Ibid.*, XXII, 9, 6.

<sup>24</sup> *Synkletos* (?), 183/2 B. C., *ibid.*, XXIII, 17, 5; 170/69 B. C., *ibid.*, XXVIII, 13, 9; *synkletos*, 169/8 B. C., *ibid.*, XXIX, 24, 6.

<sup>25</sup> *Boulé*, 188/7 B. C., *ibid.*, XXII, 10, 2; *boulé*, 172/1 B. C., *ibid.*, XXVII, 2, 11; *synkletos*, I. G., VII, 411, 1, 12.

<sup>26</sup> *Synodos*, 169/8 B. C., Polybius, XXIX, 23, 8; *synodos*, 156/5 B. C., *ibid.*, XXXIII, 16, 2; *synodos*, ca. 156 B. C., I. G., VII, 411, 1, 7; 147/6 B. C., Polybius, XXXVIII, 12, 2.

<sup>27</sup> *Synodos*, 184/180 B. C., fragment in Büttner-Wobst edition of Polybius, IV, p. 90.

<sup>28</sup> *Boulé*, 169 B. C., Polybius, XXVIII, 3, 10 and Livy, XLIII, 17, 4; 147 B. C., Polybius, XXXVIII, 10, 4.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, XXIX, 25, 2.

<sup>30</sup> Argos seems to have had a majority of the meetings of the *boulé*, Corinth and Megalopolis of the *synodos*, and Sicyon of the *synkletos*; but the surviving indications may be misleading in this regard.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, XXII, 7, 2 and 14.

terion" was full of uncertainty.<sup>32</sup> Polybius does not elsewhere use the word "bouleuterion" abstractly to designate the meeting or meeting place, and it is likely that in this passage the word refers to an actual building which was so called. He was a native of Megalopolis and knew the city perfectly; with him the mention of a bouleuterion there, which could accommodate the *synodos* of the league, could mean only the Thersilium, the "Bouleuterion of the Ten Thousand" described by Pausanias.<sup>33</sup>

The league was later restored by the Romans, and Pausanias says that in his day (the second century A. D.) the Achaean assembly met at Aegium.<sup>34</sup> Thus, the Amarium appears to have finally reasserted its time-honored prerogative.

*Aetolian League.*<sup>35</sup> This league seems, from the language of Thucydides, to have been in existence as early as the fifth century B. C. Its period of importance, however, dates from a reorganization in 321 B. C. until its suppression by the Romans in 168 B. C.

Its assembly met twice a year, before and after the campaigning season. The autumn meeting, called "the Thermum assembly" (ἡ τῶν Θερμικῶν σύνοδος), took place about the time of the equinox, and at it the elections were held.<sup>36</sup> As might be concluded from the name, this assembly was held regularly at Thermum.<sup>37</sup> The spring meeting was called "the Panaetolian assembly" (τὸ Πανατολικόν).<sup>38</sup>

Two passages in which Livy refers to a *Panaetolicum concilium* and a *Pylaicum concilium* have been responsible for a

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, XXII, 9, 6.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. pp. 200-204. There is a question as to whether the Thersilium was rebuilt after the Spartan sack in 222 B. C.; this would indicate that it was.

<sup>34</sup> VII, 24, 4.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. especially Holleaux, *B. O. H.*, XXIX, 1905, pp. 362-372.

<sup>36</sup> Polybius, IV, 37, 2; *ibid.*, V, 8, 5-8; Strabo, X, 3, 2.

<sup>37</sup> Polybius, XVIII, 48, 5; called *ecolesia*, *ibid.*, XXVIII, 4, 1.

<sup>38</sup> These are distinguished in several inscribed decrees of the league. Cf. Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, 598, D, 1. 2; *ibid.*, 563, 1. 2; *I. G.*, IX, 411.

widespread misconception regarding the meetings of this league.<sup>39</sup> It has been stated that *Pylaicum concilium* refers to meetings of the Aetolian league held at Thermopylae and so must have had some connection with the meetings of the Delphic Amphictyony, which were held there and so came to be called *Pylaea*.<sup>40</sup> It is quite clear, however, that Livy misunderstood the text of Polybius, confusing Thermum and Thermopylae, and so translated the Thermum assembly to mean the meeting of the Amphictyony at Thermopylae.<sup>41</sup>

It has been noted that Thermum was the meeting place of the autumn assembly. Polybius tells of the splendid fair and religious gathering which took place there annually, along with the election of new league magistrates.<sup>42</sup> The temple of Apollo at Thermum was the religious center of all the cantonal communities of Aetolia, and it is not surprising that it became the scene of important political gatherings. Numerous inscribed decrees of the league have been found in excavations there,<sup>43</sup> and Rhomaïos believes that the building in which it met has been found.<sup>44</sup> This building could not have accommodated the assembly but may have been used for the meetings of the league council, which became very powerful in its later history. The number of this council is not certain, but it was over thirty<sup>45</sup> and may have been more than five hundred fifty.<sup>46</sup>

The meeting place of the *Panaitolikon* has not been identified. Holleaux thinks that its meetings at Naupactus were not regular ones, and he concludes that this assembly had no fixed place of meeting. But, on the contrary, notices of meetings at Naupactus give the impression that this was

<sup>39</sup> XXXI, 32, 3 and 4; XXXIII, 35, 8 and 9.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. pp. 120-121.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Livy, XXXIII, 35, 8 and 9 with Polybius, XVIII, 48, 5.

<sup>42</sup> V, 8, 5-8; V, 9, 2.

<sup>43</sup> Soteriades, *Delion*, I, 1915, pp. 45-58. Also, the federal coinage was probably issued there (cf. Gardner, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum*, [Thessaly and Aetolia], p. 58).

<sup>44</sup> Cf. pp. 247, 248. <sup>45</sup> Polybius, XX, 1. <sup>46</sup> Livy, XLV, 28, 7.

quite the regular thing. The Macedonians speak of the envied independence of the Aetolians who meet at Naupactus to deliberate on peace and war;<sup>47</sup> a general is said to have prevented a declaration of war in an assembly at Naupactus;<sup>48</sup> and the Romans acquaint the Aetolians at Naupactus with certain news, just as they do the Achaeans at Aegium and the Epirotes at Phoenice.<sup>49</sup> Hence, it is quite probable that the spring assembly was regularly held there.

A meeting of the Aetolians with the Macedonians is said to have taken place at Trichinian Heraclea, but this was almost certainly a special meeting held in the most convenient place.<sup>50</sup> Two references to meetings of the Aetolians with the Romans at Hypata suggest that it was a more usual place in which to hold special conferences.<sup>51</sup>

*Acarnanian League.* Some sort of league of Acarnanian cities seems already to have been of long standing in the fifth century B. C. Thucydides speaks of a place called Olpae,

a stronghold on the hill near the sea, which the Acarnanians had fortified and had at one time used as a common tribunal of justice.<sup>52</sup>

Doubtless the meetings held there dealt with political as well as judicial matters of common interest. But the fortification of this spot points to its having been primarily a rallying point in time of danger.

In the early fourth century B. C. Stratus was the federal

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXI, 29, 8. This speech was made in a debate at the *Panaitolikon*, but the meeting place in this particular case is not specifically stated.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXI, 40, 9.

<sup>49</sup> Polybius, XVI, 27, 4. This would suggest that some, at least, of the federal officials resided in Naupactus, since it is unlikely that the Achacan, Aetolian, and Epirote leagues would all be meeting at the same time. That Naupactus was the Aetolian capital is also suggested by a message sent by Ceos jointly to the Naupactians and the *synedroi* of the Aetolians ( *I. G.*, XII (5), 532, ll. 2-4).

<sup>50</sup> Livy, XXXIII, 3, 7.

<sup>51</sup> Polybius, XX, 9, 6; XXI, 4, 7.

<sup>52</sup> *III*, 105, 1.

capital of Acarnania and the meeting place of the league.<sup>53</sup> It was already the greatest city of the district in the fifth century B. C. and was the logical choice.<sup>54</sup> It no doubt continued as capital until the third quarter of the third century B. C., when the league was for a time dissolved by the Aetolians.

In 221 B. C. the league was restored, but the Aetolians retained Stratus, and Leucas was chosen as the new capital. Livy makes it clear that during the late third and early second century B. C. Leucas was the league capital and that thither all the people regularly gathered for their assemblies.<sup>55</sup> A specific meeting is mentioned there at the beginning of the second century B. C.<sup>56</sup>

Then, in the second quarter of the century the assembly was apparently meeting at Thyreum, and no sessions at Leucas are recorded.<sup>57</sup> Perhaps the damaged state of Leucas after 197 B. C. was responsible for this change. At any rate, it would not have been available after the defeat of Perseus in 168 B. C., since at that time it was separated from league territory.<sup>58</sup>

*Arcadian League.* That there was an early league of Arcadian cities is proved by a series of coins struck at Heraea, which would then seem to have been the chief city of the district.<sup>59</sup> Also, an archaic inscription indicates the existence

<sup>53</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenica*, IV, 6, 4. Gardner (*op. cit.*, Introduction, p. 52) says that it was apparently at Stratus that the league first minted its coins.

<sup>54</sup> Thucydides, II, 80, 8.

<sup>55</sup> XXXIII, 17, 1; XXXVI, 11, 9.

<sup>56</sup> 194 B. C., Livy, XXXIII, 16, 3.

<sup>57</sup> 170/69 B. C., Polybius, XXVIII, 5, 1; Livy, XLIII, 17, 6. Gardner (*op. cit.*, p. 54) mentions that silver coins of a type identical with those of the league but of a somewhat later style appear at Thyreum, and this provides additional evidence that it had become the league capital.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Livy, XLV, 31.

<sup>59</sup> Gardner, *op. cit.* [*Peloponnesus*], pp. 169-173.

of an early Amphictyony of Arcadian cities with headquarters at the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea.<sup>60</sup>

Hence, Epaminondas was only giving more concrete form to a federal movement which already existed, when in 370 B. C. he reorganized the Arcadian league and founded a new federal capital, called Megalopolis. The league machinery consisted of a great voting assembly, in all probability a regular council, and an executive committee of fifty *demiourgoi*. League meetings were held regularly in Megalopolis.<sup>61</sup> Pausanias says:

Not far from the theater [in Megalopolis] are left foundations of the council house built for the Ten Thousand Arcadians, and called Thersilium after the man who dedicated it.<sup>62</sup>

The remains of the Thersilium have been located and examined, and it has been established that it would have held *ca.* six thousand persons seated.<sup>63</sup> This was doubtless ample space for the league assembly, since *μυριοι* was used loosely for any large number. There is no reason to believe, with some early scholars, that this was the meeting place only of the council and that the Theater was used for the assembly. Megalopolis also had a Bouleuterion in the Agora on the other side of the river, but this was probably a much smaller building and would have been the headquarters of the city government.<sup>64</sup>

This league broke up *ca.* 330 B. C., but it was revived and persisted, with periods of dependency on the Achaean league, at least as late as 234 B. C.<sup>65</sup> It has been noticed that the Thersilium was apparently used in the second century B. C. by the assembly of the Achaean league when meeting at Megalopolis.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>60</sup> *B. C. H.*, XIII, 1889, pp. 281-293; *I. G.*, V<sup>2</sup>, 3.

<sup>61</sup> Demosthenes, *On the False Embassy*, 11; Harpocration, *s. v.* 'μύριοι ἐν Μεγάλῃ πόλει.'

<sup>62</sup> VIII, 32, 1.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. pp. 200-204.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. p. 151.

<sup>65</sup> Gardner, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-176.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. p. 103.

*Athenian Confederacy.*<sup>67</sup> Under Spartan pressure, Athens began in 378 B. C. to renew her former confederation on completely new lines. A new federal body, "the synedrium of the allies," worked conjointly with the Athenian assembly and council. This synedrium, in which Athens was not represented, sat permanently at Athens.<sup>68</sup> It is often mentioned in literature and inscriptions, but its exact meeting place in the city is obscure. The only suggestion is in a passage where Aeschines says that, after the assembly had been adjourned, Philip's ambassadors proceeded to administer the oaths to the allies in the Strategeum at Athens.<sup>69</sup> It might be supposed that the members of the synedrium went back to their regular meeting place for this ceremony. The Strategeum was apparently situated in the Agora near the Bouleuterion and other civic buildings, but there is no information as to its size or form.<sup>70</sup>

This confederacy flourished in the early years after its formation, but by 355 B. C. many of the allies had deserted, and only an unimportant residue remained to be dissolved by Philip a few years later.

*Boeotian League.* There was an early league of Boeotian cities, which was mainly religious in purpose. It seems to have centered around the sanctuary of Itonian Athena, which lay in the plain just outside Coronea. Strabo says that these gatherings were called "Panboeotian" (Παρυβοιώτια), and he speaks as if they had been discontinued in his day (first century B. C.).<sup>71</sup> Pausanias makes it clear that by his time

<sup>67</sup> This is the second league headed by Athens. For the first, cf. under Delian League.

<sup>68</sup> Diodorus Siculus, XV, 28, 3 and 4; *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 96; Isocrates, *On the Peace*, 23.

<sup>69</sup> *On the False Embassy*, 85. But he is speaking of events which took place after Athens had lost many of her allies and when the synedrium must have been quite small.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 346, 347.

<sup>71</sup> IX, 2, 29.

(second century A. D.) they had been revived.<sup>72</sup> He mentions statues of Itonian Athena and of Zeus in the temple.<sup>73</sup>

The gatherings at Coronea apparently had a political aspect, but in the period of the greatness of the Boeotian league Thebes was the capital and meeting place of the league assembly and council.<sup>74</sup> Probably they were convened respectively in the Theater and on the Cadmea, as were the corresponding city bodies.<sup>75</sup>

Thus, it appears that the earliest meetings were held at Coronea and that it continued to be the religious center of the league. But Thebes soon became the political center and remained so, with some short interruptions, until the dissolution of the league by the Romans. By Pausanias' time Coronea was once more the center of a league with little but nominal political power.

*Carian League.* Strabo says:

And near the city [of Stratonicea] is the temple of Zeus Chrysaoreus [of the Golden Sword], the common possession of all Carians, whither they gather both to offer sacrifice and to deliberate on their common interests. Their League [*σύνθημα*], which consists of villages, is called "Chrysaorian."<sup>76</sup>

*Chalcidic "League."* This federation was formally organized in the third quarter of the fifth century B. C. and continued to grow in influence, with the exception of a short period of Spartan intervention in 379 B. C., until its defeat and suppression by Philip of Macedon in 348 B. C.<sup>77</sup> It had its

<sup>72</sup> IX, 34, 1.

<sup>73</sup> Strabo (IX, 2, 33) also says that an Amphictyonic council used to convene at Onchestus in the territory of Haliartus on a height bare of trees, with a sacred precinct of Poseidon nearby.

<sup>74</sup> Diodorus Siculus, XV, 80, 1; Livy, XXXIII, 1, 1.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. pp. 61, 154.

<sup>76</sup> XIV, 2, 25.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. West, *The History of the Chalcidic League* (Madison, 1918); Gude, *A History of Olynthus*, pp. 18 ff.; Robinson and Clement, *Olynthus*, IX, pp. 118-125; Robinson in P. W., XVIII, s. v. *Olynthus*, 327-328. Robinson thinks it was a State (*Einheitsstaat*), not a League.



headquarters at Olynthus.<sup>78</sup> The public building there which may have been an assembly hall for political deliberation can hardly have been the meeting place of this State, since it went out of use before the end of the fifth century B. C.<sup>79</sup>

*Cretan League.*<sup>80</sup> In 221 B. C. Cnossus and Gortyna had succeeded in organizing all the cities of Crete, with the single exception of Lyttus, into a league under their presidency.<sup>81</sup> A decree dealing with the founding of Magnesia on the Maeander, which the Magnesians presented falsely as issued by the Cretan league, dates to the end of the third century B. C. and shows that at that time league meetings were being held "in Bilcon in the sanctuary of Apollo Bilconius."<sup>82</sup> The exact site of Bilcon is unknown, but it may be conjectured that it was a mere village which had grown up around the sanctuary, and, to judge from other known meeting places of the league, it was probably not far from Cnossus or Gortyna.

The league continued to function at least into the third quarter of the second century B. C. A decree passed by it some time in this period proves the existence of a league assembly (*κοινόν*) and council (*συνέδριον*) and specifies that they were meeting at Cnossus.<sup>83</sup>

In 67 B. C. Crete was conquered by the Romans, and soon afterwards the league was restored, although stripped of almost all its political power. In this period the league capital and meeting place was Gortyna.<sup>84</sup> Cnossus, the former

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<sup>78</sup> Thucydides, I, 58, 2; implied in Xenophon, *Hellenica*, V, 2, 15; and clear from numismatic evidence (Robinson and Clement, *Olynthus*, IX, pp. 156-160).

<sup>79</sup> Cf. p. 235. Professor Robinson suggests that the Chalcidian council met in the stoa-like building (A IV, 10) which he excavated at Olynthus on the North Hill, *A. J. A.*, XXXIX, 1935, pp. 217-219.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. especially M. van der Mijsbrugge, *The Cretan Koinon*.

<sup>81</sup> Polybius, IV, 53, 4.

<sup>82</sup> Kern, *op. cit.*, no. 20, ll. 2-4.

<sup>83</sup> *I. G.*, XII (3), 254.

<sup>84</sup> *I. G.*, VII, 1589; Svoronos, *Numismatique de la Crète Ancienne*, I, pp. 349-352.

capital, had been destroyed by the Romans, and Gortyna was its natural successor.

*Delian League.* This well-known confederacy was formed in 478 B. C. under the leadership of Athens. The cities of which it was composed had a common treasury, and a common council (σύνδοξ) met regularly in the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos.<sup>85</sup> This was a central and natural capital for a league made up mainly of Ionic cities, and it, like many other league meeting places, had the advantage of being under the patronage of a famous cult.

Athens, however, increased her gradual transformation of the league into an empire by the transfer in 454 B. C. of the league treasury from Delos to her own Acropolis. This was done at the suggestion of the Samians in the league council and was perhaps the last act of that body. The climax came in 449 B. C. after the Peace of Callias.<sup>86</sup>

*Epirote League.* Epirus became a confederate state between 238 and 231 B. C. Its capital was Phoenice, the largest and wealthiest city in the whole region.<sup>87</sup> This is indicated by the way the Romans passed on official news to the Epirotes at Phoenice, just as to the Achaeans at Aegium and the Aetolians at Naupactus.<sup>88</sup> Also, an inscription of the second century B. C. preserves this formula: "the league of the Epirotes about Phoenice" (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑπειρωτῶν [τῶν] περὶ Φοινίκην[ν]).<sup>89</sup>

*Euboean League.* In the middle of the fourth century B. C. Callias of Chalcis attempted to form a council of Euboic cities meeting at Chalcis,<sup>90</sup> but this cannot be called a con-

<sup>85</sup> Thucydides, I, 96, 2.

<sup>86</sup> Plutarch, *Pericles*, 12, 1 and 2. Cf. Wade-Gery, *Harvard Stud. Cl. Phil.*, Suppl. I, 1940, pp. 121-156; Meritt, in *The Greek Political Experience (Studies in honor of Prentice)*, Princeton, 1941, pp. 52-56.

<sup>87</sup> Polybius, II, 6, 8; II, 8, 4.

<sup>88</sup> In 201 B. C.; cf. Polybius, XVI, 27, 4.

<sup>89</sup> Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, 653 A, no. 4. A special conference with the Epirotes was called by the Romans in 172 B. C. at Gitana (Livy, XLIII, 38, 1).

<sup>90</sup> Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon*, 89, 94.

certed federal movement. Again, in 194 B. C. Quinctius, the Roman legate, summoned a conference of all Euboean cities to meet at Chalcis.<sup>91</sup> There can be no doubt that this city was the most important on the island and the likely capital for any federal organization. Politics were discussed, however, at an interstate festival held at Eretria in the sanctuary of Artemis Amarynthis.<sup>92</sup>

*Island League.* This political union of the Cyclades was brought about by Antigonos at the end of the fourth century B. C. A considerable amount of material concerning it has been preserved in Delian inscriptions, but there is some uncertainty about the meeting place of its council.

Delos was the center of its archives in the third century B. C., and, since this was the best known shrine in the Cyclades, one would naturally expect that it was the federal capital and meeting place. An inscription suggests, however, that, at least in the second century B. C., the council held meetings on the island of Tenos. A decree of the league council was to be set up "in Delos in the sanctuary of Apollo, and in Tenos in the sanctuary of Poseidon and Amphitrite."<sup>93</sup> A provision is added that ambassadors be sent to Delos to arrange for the placing of the stele. This implies that the meeting which passed the decree was held elsewhere than at Delos. The precinct of Poseidon at Tenos was a well-known gathering place among the people of the Cyclades and may have become the regular meeting place of the league.<sup>94</sup>

An extraordinary meeting was held on Samos, but it was not a member of the league and was chosen for special reasons.<sup>95</sup> It is not necessary to conclude from this, as Fou-

<sup>91</sup> Livy, XXXIV, 51, 1.

<sup>92</sup> Strabo, X, 1, 10 (C 448); Livy, XXXVIII, 38.

<sup>93</sup> I. G., XII (5), 817, shortly after 188 B. C.

<sup>94</sup> Strabo, X, 5, 11. There is still a well-attended annual religious festival on Tenos.

<sup>95</sup> Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, 390, 1. 3, ca. 280 B. C. Dittenberger

gères believes, that the league meetings were always held wherever circumstances demanded.<sup>96</sup>

*Lacedaemonian League.* A union of cities under the leadership of Sparta existed from the middle of the sixth century B. C., and at the end of that century a council of the allies is recorded to have been summoned at Sparta.<sup>97</sup> In the time of the Persian invasion it was transformed into a Panhellenic league with delegates assembling at the Isthmus.<sup>98</sup> About the middle of the fifth century the Lacedaemonian league was reorganized, but it was always more in the nature of a military alliance than a league with truly federal aims.<sup>99</sup> There were apparently no fixed meetings of the league council; the Spartans summoned the delegates of the allies to Sparta whenever the need arose.<sup>100</sup>

The league council was still meeting at Sparta with the Spartan assembly in the first quarter of the fourth century B. C.<sup>101</sup> The disaster at Leuctra broke up the league for the time, but Sparta soon succeeded in again imposing her leadership on some of her neighbors and continued to play a leading part in Greek politics.

*Lycian League.* This federation (σύνθημα), uniting the twenty-three cities of Lycia, seems to have been achieved soon

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thinks Ptolemy forced them to meet on Samos because his fleet was stationed there.

<sup>96</sup> Another inscription of the beginning of the third century B. C. (*I. G.*, XII [7], 509) seems to record a meeting of the league council on the island of Heraclea, but Roussel (*B. G. H.*, XXXV, 1911, pp. 441-455) has shown that this inscription probably does not refer to this league at all.

<sup>97</sup> Herodotus, V, 91, 2.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 172, 1.

<sup>99</sup> Pericles, in his speech advising war against the Spartans and their allies (Thucydides, I, 141, 6), says that they might win a single battle but have no military organization to keep up a war, since they have no "single bouleuterion." Here, as frequently, bouleuterion is practically synonymous with *boule*.

<sup>100</sup> Thucydides, I, 67, 3.

<sup>101</sup> Xenophon, *Hellenica*, V, 2, 11.

after the establishment of Lycian independence in 168 B. C. League meetings were held once a year "in whatever city they choose."<sup>102</sup>

*Panionic League.*<sup>103</sup> This well-organized federal system originated in a very old alliance, going back at least to 700 B. C., and consisted originally of twelve cities. For its meetings the "Panionium," a sanctuary of Poseidon at Mycale near Priene, was chosen.<sup>104</sup> Herodotus says that it was set apart for Poseidon of Helice, and this statement implies that it was established as soon as the Ionians reached Asia Minor, since Poseidon was their patron god, and their greatest religious center in Achaea had been his sanctuary at Helice.<sup>105</sup> But, whereas the gatherings at Helice had been pre-eminently for religious purposes, the activities of this league were mainly political.

Herodotus tells of an interesting debate which took place in the Panionium, when the Ionians were being hard pressed by the Persians at the end of the sixth century.

When the Ionians, despite their evil plight, did nevertheless assemble at the Panionium, Bias of Priene . . . counselled them to put out to sea and sail all together to Sardo [Sardinia] and then found one city for all Ionians. . . . Good also was that given before the destruction by Thales of Miletus, a Phoenician by descent; he would have had the Ionians make one common place of counsel [*βουλευτήριον*], which should be in Teos, for that was the centre of Ionia; and the state of the other cities should be held to be no other than if they were but townships.<sup>106</sup>

They took the advice of neither of these wise men, their league was suppressed, and Herodotus speaks of it in the past tense.

It was reconstituted *ca.* 400 B. C., and it is apparently in connection with this period that Diodorus says:

A league of nine cities used to hold common meetings called the Panionia, an old and great festival of Poseidon, at a deserted place

<sup>102</sup> Strabo, XIV, 3, 3.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. especially Caspari, *J. H. S.*, XXXV, 1915, pp. 173-188.

<sup>104</sup> Herodotus, I, 148.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. p. 98.

<sup>106</sup> I, 170.

called Mycale. But, owing to the stress of war, they removed their sessions to a safe place near Ephesus.<sup>107</sup>

The war mentioned may be that of 392 B. C., but no further information confirms this change of meeting place or fixes its exact location.

The league was dissolved in 387 B. C., but it was again reconstituted at the end of the fourth century B. C. and was meeting at the Panionium once more. Several of its inscribed decrees dating from the end of the fourth and the third centuries B. C. have been found, and it is clear from them that the precinct was decorated with statues, altars, and stelae.<sup>108</sup>

Strabo says that the Panionium lies just three stades from the sea after the Samian strait and that the Panionia, a festival of the Ionians, is held there.<sup>109</sup> The festival is known to have survived at least until the third century A. D., although its later political importance was negligible.

*Phocian League.* The existence of a league of Phocian cities is attested from the middle of the sixth century B. C. In 356 B. C. this confederacy was re-established, with twenty-two cities as members. For the next ten years the Phocians controlled Delphi and apparently thought to add to the influence of their league by making this shrine their federal capital. At any rate, they are said to have held league assemblies there.<sup>110</sup>

The confederacy was completely broken up in 346, but it was reconstituted in 339, and Elatea seems to have been chosen as their headquarters. It was clearly the regular meeting place in the middle of the third century. A provision is recorded for the setting up of a statue "in the Koinon in Elatea" (ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ), which suggests that the actual meeting place as well as the league was called "Koinon."<sup>111</sup>

<sup>107</sup> XV, 49, 1.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Michel, *op. cit.*, 484 (mention of Zeus Boulaeus and Hera), 485, 486.

<sup>109</sup> XIV, I, 20.

<sup>110</sup> Diodorus Siculus, XVI, 32, 2.

<sup>111</sup> *I. G.*, IX (1), 101, l. 9.

Probably it was after another reorganization in 196 B. C. that the place of meeting for the league representatives was again changed. A special building, called "Phocicon," was erected just outside Daulis on the road to Delphi, and here the league still had its headquarters in the second century A. D. Pausanias gives a valuable and somewhat detailed account of it.<sup>112</sup>

*Thessalian League.* Throughout the fourth and third centuries B. C. there was a loose union of Thessalian cities, but it had no real federal organization, since the Macedonian kings or local tyrants always controlled it. After 196 B. C. it was reorganized under the Achaean league and gained new territory. The capital, from this time at least until the first century A. D., was Larissa.<sup>113</sup> Since it is known that league decrees were written on stone columns in the temple of Zeus Eleutherius there and since the league coinage bearing a head of Zeus was almost certainly minted there,<sup>114</sup> it may be safely conjectured that his sanctuary in Larissa was the focal point of the league and the regular meeting place of its governing bodies.

*Troad League.* This league was founded by Alexander the Great or one of his immediate successors and was called officially "the Koinon of the cities" (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν πόλεων). The capital and league meeting place was Ilium (Troy).<sup>115</sup> The league was closely connected with the cult of Athena Ilias, and its decrees were set up in her precinct, called the "Pana-thenaion." It is likely that, after the early first century A. D.,

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<sup>112</sup> X, 5, 1 and 2. For the full quotation of this passage cf. p. 261. It is possible that Diodorus is referring to this meeting place when he tells of the much earlier meeting "at Delphi."

<sup>113</sup> 191 B. C., Livy, XXXVI, 8, 2; 172 B. C., *ibid.*, XLII, 38, 6; I. G., IX<sup>2</sup>, 261, ll. 11, 12; Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, pp. 94-100.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. *B. G. H.*, X, 1886, p. 435; Gardner, *op. cit.* [*Thessaly and Aetolia*], p. 31.

<sup>115</sup> Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, 330.

this council made use of the Trojan Bouleuterion which lies immediately to the west of the Athena sanctuary.<sup>116</sup>

*Panhellenic Leagues.* A council with predominantly political aims and representing most of the separate sovereign Greek states was meeting at the Isthmus of Corinth as early as the sixth century and was well established by the early fifth century B. C.<sup>117</sup> The delegates assembled in the sanctuary of Poseidon Isthmius, as is shown by Herodotus' statement that, after the battle of Salamis, a council of the Greeks was held at the Isthmus, and the generals cast their votes at the altar of Poseidon to decide the best among their number.<sup>118</sup> The Isthmus was the most central place they could have chosen, in view of the predominance of Peloponnesian cities, and the cult of Poseidon was so important there that his sanctuary would be the natural meeting place. The representatives at some of these meetings must have formed a considerable crowd, and they probably held their conferences in the same auditorium which was used at other times by those viewing the Isthmian games.

This league was reorganized by Philip of Macedon and used for his own political purposes. It is said to have met "in [ἐν] Corinth."<sup>119</sup> There is notice of a meeting in Alexander's time "at [ἐν] the Isthmus,"<sup>120</sup> and not much later another was held "at Corinth."<sup>121</sup> Doubtless, the expression "at the Isthmus" could be extended to mean "at Corinth" and vice versa, and Plutarch and Diodorus were far from contemporary with these events. Hence, it is hardly possible to ascertain whether the Theater at Corinth or the Isthmian Stadium was the scene of these gatherings. Perhaps meetings were held at both places.

The league was broken up after Alexander's death and

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<sup>116</sup> Cf. pp. 248, 249.

<sup>117</sup> Herodotus, VII, 172, 175.

<sup>118</sup> VIII, 123, 1 and 2.

<sup>119</sup> 337 B. C., Diodorus Siculus, XVI, 89, 3.

<sup>120</sup> 335 B. C., Plutarch, *Alexander*, 14, 1.

<sup>121</sup> 330 B. C., Diodorus Siculus, XVII, 73, 5.



revived by Demetrius Poliorcetes in 303 B. C. In this year Plutarch says it met "on [ἐν] the Isthmus."<sup>122</sup> After a period of eclipse, the league was revived by Antigonos Doson in the form of a combination of the regular federal leagues. In 196 B. C. Flamininus proclaimed the liberty and autonomy of every Greek city to the crowd which had assembled to watch the games in the Hippodrome on the Isthmus.<sup>123</sup> This was a convenient time and place for his purpose, and undoubtedly the gatherings for the Panhellenic games were often so used; but they never constituted a formal assembly which could engage in serious political discussion or action. The regular Panhellenic assemblies were convened by the Romans at Corinth in the following years.<sup>124</sup>

In the first century A. D. the Emperor Nero called a great assembly in which not only Greece but the whole Roman world was represented, and for it he chose Corinth as the place of meeting.<sup>125</sup> Finally, in the second century A. D. the Emperor Hadrian instituted a single Panhellenic federation, called the *Panhellenion*, with meetings at Athens, the city to which he was so sentimentally attached and for which he performed so many favors.<sup>126</sup> This body and its officers are frequently mentioned in later inscriptions.<sup>127</sup> It may have met in the Theater of Dionysus, or perhaps on the Pnyx.

Two other bodies which are termed Panhellenic leagues ought also to be mentioned. One was a council of the Greek

<sup>122</sup> *Demetrius*, 25, 3. Cf. also ll. 11, 12 of a newly-discovered inscription published in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 348-350.

<sup>123</sup> Polybius, XVIII, 46, 1-10. This Hippodrome was inside the sacred precinct (Strabo, VIII, 6, 22).

<sup>124</sup> 195 B. C., Livy, XXXIV, 22, 6; 194 B. C., *ibid.*, XXXIV, 48, 3. There can be no doubt that the Theater at Corinth was utilized for these meetings, for Livy echoes the statement of Polybius, who may be trusted in such matters.

<sup>125</sup> *I. G.*, VII, 2713, l. 5.

<sup>126</sup> *I. G.*, IV, 1052.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1088-1091.

cities meeting at Plataea; <sup>128</sup> the other comprised a league of Achaeans, Boeotians, Locrians, Phocians, and Euboeans meeting at Argos.<sup>129</sup> Neither of these leagues, however, seems to have lasted for long, and they were not really as all-inclusive as their name suggests.

*The Delphic Amphictyony.* This was by far the most influential of the numerous organizations of city-states which grew up about the important religious cults. The fame of the oracle of Apollo at Delphi made his Amphictyony so powerful that it could scarcely have kept clear of political issues. It was, indeed, a very real factor in the course of national and international events, and a discussion of its places of meeting must concern this study.

The exact time when the council was first established is not known, but it is safe to say that it dates back to a remote period. The cult of Ge preceded that of Apollo at Delphi and always remained predominant in the region of Doris and Thermopylae, where lived the Dryopians who originally controlled Delphi. Herodotus says:

<sup>128</sup> Plutarch (*Aristides*, 19, 7) says that the battle of Plataea was fought on the fourth of the Attic month Boedromion, and that on the same day down to his time the Hellenic council (τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν συνέδριον) assembled in Plataea and the Plataeans sacrificed to Zeus Eleutherius. There is also an inscription (*I. G.*, VII, 2509) of the early second century A. D., which records an honorary decree passed by the common synedrium of the Greeks meeting at Plataea (τὸ κοινὸν συνέδριον τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν εἰς Πλατῆας συνιόντων). Some such annual Panhellenic council may well have been decided upon in the flush of victory, but its continuous observance can hardly be credited (cf. *C. A. H.*, IV, p. 339). In the second century A. D., however, it had apparently been revived and doubtless fed the vanity of the Greeks of that time.

<sup>129</sup> This so-called Panhellenic league was in existence in the first century A. D. (*I. G.*, VII, 2711, 2712). The lengthy title "Koinon of the Achaeans, Boeotians, Locrians, Phocians, and Euboeans" was unsuitable for general use and was shortened in various ways, including "Koinon of the Panhellenes" and "Synedrium of the Achaeans and Panhellenes."

Between the [Phoenix] river and Thermopylae there is a village named Anthele, past which the Asopus flows out into the sea, and there is a wide space about it wherein stands a temple of Amphictyonic Demeter, and seats [ἐδραι] withal for the Amphictyons [members of the Amphictyonic council], and a temple of Amphictyon himself.<sup>130</sup>

This passage emphasizes the close connection between the Ge (Demeter) cult and the Amphictyonic council, and proves that the council was well enough established in the early fifth century B. C. to have a permanent meeting place by the temple of Demeter near Thermopylae. Another passage shows that as early as the first quarter of the fifth century B. C. the meeting of the council was termed *Pylaea*.<sup>131</sup> This name was obviously derived from the meeting place at Thermopylae, since Pylae was a more common name for Thermopylae.<sup>132</sup>

The Amphictyonic council held two regular meetings each year, one in the spring and one in the autumn. Strabo is supported by other authorities in this regard, but he goes on to state:

They called the assembly "Pylaea," both that of spring and that of late autumn, since they convened at Pylae, which is also called Thermopylae.<sup>133</sup>

On the other hand, Demosthenes mentions the existence of two distinct meetings, "the Pylaea" (ἡ Πυλαία) and "that in Delphi" (τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς).<sup>134</sup> Furthermore, Aeschines tells how a meeting of the council was held "at the sanctuary" (εἰς τὸ ἱερόν), and this sanctuary is presumed to be that of Apollo at Delphi.<sup>135</sup> The same author refers to a somewhat later meeting of the council at Delphi in a spot where the councillors could look out over the plain of Cirrha.<sup>136</sup> At that

<sup>130</sup> VII, 200.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, VII, 201.

<sup>131</sup> Herodotus, VII, 213.

<sup>133</sup> IX, 3, 7.

<sup>134</sup> 346 B. C., *On the Peace*, 23; cf. note in Loeb edition, p. 116.

<sup>135</sup> 346 B. C., *On the False Embassy*, 117.

<sup>136</sup> 338 B. C., *Against Ctesiphon*, 124.

time a crisis caused the convening of a special assembly of those present in Delphi and interested in the cult, and it was then decided to hold an extraordinary meeting at Pylae before the next Pylaea. Finally, there is mention in the inscribed accounts of the Delphian treasurers in the third quarter of the fourth century B. C. of a "Synedrium in Pylae" and also of a "Synedrium at Delphi."<sup>137</sup>

Hence, there is evidence that regular meetings were held at both Thermopylae and Delphi in the fourth century B. C., although it is quite possible that Strabo's assertion is true, and that by his day Thermopylae was the scene of all regular meetings. There is much confusion among secondary authorities in commenting on the above passages. It is stated that the spring meetings of the council were held in Delphi and the autumn ones in Thermopylae,<sup>138</sup> or that they were always convened at Thermopylae first and proceeded from there to Delphi.<sup>139</sup> The evidence is not sufficient to show whether or not there was as specific a rule as either of these schemes would entail. The first is more likely in view of the available data, but there are known exceptions.<sup>140</sup>

In the accounts preserved in Delphic inscriptions, there is record of the payment for the year 340/39 B. C. of three years' salary to "the architect in Pylae of the Synedrium."<sup>141</sup> Also, a payment of three talents, four minas, nine staters was made to a certain Mnesicles for the Synedrium in Pylae. Dittenberger believes that the second amount is the total spent on the Synedrium, and he suggests that the building program recorded in these inscriptions was necessary after the

<sup>137</sup> Cf. references in following notes (141-143). For the meaning of the word, cf. pp. 295-298.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. P. W., s. v. "*Amphiktyonia*"; commentary in Loeb edition of Demosthenes, *On the Peace*, 23.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. commentary in Loeb edition of Aeschines, *Against Otesiphon*, 124.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. P. W., *loc. cit.*

<sup>141</sup> Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, 243 D, ll. 42-44, 47. Cf. his note 22, p. 393.

Sacred War, in which the Phocians frequently had control of Thermopylae and must have done much damage. In the same list there is a mutilated entry for 339/8 B. C. "for work on the Synedrium at Delphi."<sup>142</sup> Finally, it is recorded that in 331/0 B. C. "from Perpolas of Larissa was collected the fifth instalment on the Synedrium at Pylae [ $\tau\acute{o}$  συνέδριον  $\tau\acute{o}$  ἐν Πυλαίᾳ] amounting to fifteen minas."<sup>143</sup> Dittenberger thinks that this may indicate that the Thessalians, as well as the Phocians, damaged the buildings at Thermopylae in the Sacred War and had to pay for part of the repairs.

The Synedria at Thermopylae and at Delphi were almost certainly built to accommodate the Amphictyonic council meeting there, and these inscriptions show that such buildings existed in both places at least as early as the beginning of the second half of the fourth century B. C. If Dittenberger is right and these are only repairs that are recorded, they must have been in existence before 356 B. C. Aeschines' reference to a meeting "at the sanctuary" (presumably at Delphi) in 346 B. C. might suggest that there was not at that time a special building there to accommodate the council, but his vague language is not conclusive. Also, the expenditure of considerably over three talents (and perhaps more) on the Synedrium at Pylae and the payment of an architect for at least three years would seem to be somewhat excessive for the repairs to a single building and might point to the erection of a completely new one; but, if the damage was very severe, such extensive repairs would no doubt be necessary.

The exact site of the Synedrium near Thermopylae has not been fixed, but that at Delphi has been plausibly identified.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, 249 C, l. 75

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 252, l. 71.

<sup>144</sup> Cf. Pomtow, *Beiträge zur Topographie von Delphi*, pp. 74-78. He believes that the building erected on this site was only slightly earlier than the time of Plutarch (second century A.D.) and that an earlier Synedrium was situated ca. one hundred paces further west. But he gives no proof of his dating, and, failing this, it is unnecessary to believe that there ever was a Synedrium on a different site

On the site of the church of Hagios Elias, which lies on the hill just west of the sanctuary of Apollo, the lowest courses of an ancient peribolus can be clearly distinguished under the more recent wall. These formed a level rectangular terrace, 51.20 m. x 37 m. in area, with a heavy buttress wall on the east side and resting on the rock at the west. Early travellers mention numerous ancient architectural members lying about this area, and epigraphical finds make it likely that this was the site of the Synedrium at Delphi. From this spot there is a fine view over the valley to the west, such as is described by Aeschines. His account of the meeting at Delphi in 336 B. C. has been thought to indicate that the council held its meetings in the open air, but the inscription recording work on the Synedrium at Delphi in 339/8 B. C. practically disproves this view. Unfortunately, the scanty remains on the terrace do not help in fixing the date of the construction of the Synedrium.

Finally, a passage written by Plutarch must be discussed. He is speaking of the way Delphi had been beautified and embellished because of the fame of the oracle, and he continues:

As beside flourishing trees others spring up, so also does Pylaea [*ἡ Πυλαία*] grow in vigour along with Delphi and derives its sustenance from the same source; because of the affluence here [*ἐν τρεῖθεν*] it is acquiring a pattern and form and an adornment of shrines and meeting-places [*συνοδίων*] and supplies of water such as it has not acquired in the last thousand years.<sup>145</sup>

From this passage it has been generally concluded that the area about the meeting place of the Amphictyonic council at Delphi came to be called "Pylaea" (it is known that the council meeting at Delphi could be so designated) and that by Plutarch's time the name indicated a new and formal suburb (Vorstadt) to the west of Delphi.<sup>146</sup> But there is no

<sup>145</sup> *On the Oracles at Delphi*, 29 (*Moralia*, 409 A).

<sup>146</sup> Cf. Pomtow, *op. cit.*; Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, I, p. 179; Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, I, p. 767. I can find no authority on which this statement is based other than the passage quoted from Plutarch.

necessity for creating this new suburb of Delphi with a new name. In the inscription of 331/0 B. C. there is mention of the Synedrium at Pylaea (τὸ συνέδριον τὸ ἐν Πυλαίᾳ) and in that of 340/39 B. C. of the Synedrium on which the architect in Pylae (Thermopylae) was working (ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων ὁ ἐμ Πύλαις τοῦ συνεδρίου). Dittenberger is quite right in concluding that these two notices refer to the same building, the Synedrium near Thermopylae.<sup>147</sup> Hence, it may be stated that, already in the fourth century B. C., Pylaea = Pylae = Thermopylae.

This was a natural development, since the meeting place was not exactly in Thermopylae but in a nearby and obscure village which Herodotus calls Anthele. Confusion must have arisen, since they could not accurately call the meeting place Pylae (Thermopylae), and hence the new name "Pylaea" was evolved from the designation of the meeting itself. There was no such necessity for giving a new name to the meeting place at Delphi. Moreover, Plutarch's language does not necessitate the view that Pylaea was geographically contiguous to Delphi. The meeting place near Thermopylae had always been closely associated with Delphi because of the meetings of the Amphictyonic council and the Demeter cult, and it would naturally gain by the fame of the oracle at Delphi, just as Plutarch says. Furthermore, he states that Pylaea had "gained such adornment as it never acquired in the last thousand years." Such an expression would certainly not have been used of a suburb newly built up in his own time.

*Conclusions.* It is clear that the origin of the great majority of the federal leagues was in a common religious festival and organization to protect and supervise a special cult. This aspect usually persisted throughout their history, along with growing political interest and influence. Since they were essentially of a religious character, the leagues naturally held their meetings in the precinct in which the cult of their own

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<sup>147</sup> This is proved by the references in the inscription (cf. note 141) to "the architect of the Synedrium at Pylae [and of the temple] and of the Chutroi for Euphorbus."

special deity was localized. These meeting places must have been of the simplest arrangement, since the sessions were usually infrequent and somewhat informal. The temenos of these sanctuaries was usually quite large, and there the league assemblies congregated, with the members arranging themselves in the most convenient way possible. As such sanctuaries continued in use for this purpose, they became embellished with inscribed stelae, honorary statues, and a bema for the speakers. These additions, along with statues of the special cult deity or deities, gradually gave to these meeting places a more or less distinctive appearance; yet they were apparently not permanent enough to survive the intervening centuries in any recognizable form.

In some cases, a league continued to meet in such a sacred spot even after it had become quite predominantly political in function, and the prestige which this lent to their cult must have caused the priests and local members to try in every way to prevent any change. But such arrangements were doubtless somewhat unsatisfactory for a large and formal political gathering. Furthermore, the citizens of the large cities must have realized the advantages which would accrue to them from league meetings in their own city, and accordingly offered their large and convenient theaters for the purpose. Hence, the religious and political centers of a league often became separated.

In other cases, the capital and meeting place was always the main city in the league. If another city became more important, the league meetings shifted automatically to it. Freeman has pointed out how this arrangement often destroyed the balance of a league by lending added prestige to a city which already carried most weight in its decisions, and he contends that a remote shrine was thus a preferable meeting place. Perhaps an even better solution was that adopted in some few cases where their meeting place was chosen



in rotation or by the will of the assembly from year to year. This method, however, had disadvantages, since any large league had to have a permanent organization, and the officials who had full-time positions needed a single permanent center.<sup>148</sup>

<sup>148</sup> Mention might also be made of a league of cities in the Chersonnese. In the fourth century B. C. they possessed a "common bouleuterion" (Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, 92). Also, Polybius (II, 39, 6) tells of how the Italian Greeks so admired the political principles of the Achaean league that the Crotonians, Sybarites, and Caulenians resolved to model their own constitution exactly on that of the league. Having called a council and formed a league, they established a common temple of Zeus Amarius and a place in which to hold their meetings and debates. This league was formed before 370 B. C., and Dionysius of Syracuse later forced them to abandon it. The exact location of this meeting place is not mentioned. A council of Sicilian cities is mentioned by Livy (XXXI, 29, 8 and 9). It was regularly convened at Syracuse or Messina or Lilybaeum. There were, of course, numerous other leagues throughout the Greek world, especially in the late Imperial period in Asia Minor, but their political importance was in most cases negligible.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE CITY COUNCILS IN POST-HOMERIC TIMES

#### A. *Literary and Epigraphical Evidence*

It appears that the council, like the assembly, continued for a long time to carry on its proceedings much as in the Homeric period. The meeting place was still the palace of the king or the home of the chief man, and there the councillors dined together near the hearth and after the meal held their formal session. The chief man could be called *prytanis* (chief of the council) as well as *basileus* (king), and his home "prytaneion" (home of the prytanis) as well as "basileion" (home of the king).<sup>1</sup> Hence, the prytaneum emerged in the historical period as the building in which the sacred city hearth was located and where the councillors, along with distinguished citizens and foreigners, took their meals.<sup>2</sup> But never in later times, as far as is known, did it retain its old function as the regular meeting place of the council. This purpose was served by a new building, called "bouleuterion" (meeting place of the *boulê*).<sup>3</sup> The prytaneum and bouleuterion were closely connected and were usually built near one another at the very center of the civic life of each town. Hence, for small towns to have their prytaneum and bouleuterion transferred and merged into a single prytaneum and bouleuterion in a larger town meant their complete disappearance as political entities.<sup>4</sup> The typical city included a bouleu-

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Frazer, *Journal of Philology*, XIV, pp. 145-152, especially p. 146, note 5; also Farnell, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 345-365.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Charbonneaux, *B. C. H.*, XLIX, 1925, pp. 167, 168, and references there.

<sup>3</sup> The variant *βουλευιον* is occasionally found (Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, 614, l. 34 and 1011, ll. 16, 17; Ps. Herod., *Life of Homer*, 12). The Latin equivalent is *curia* (cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, IV, 38).

<sup>4</sup> Thucydides, II, 15, 3.

terion as a matter of course,<sup>5</sup> and Pausanias mentions "a town, if it can be called a town, without a prytaneum."<sup>6</sup>

The sequence employed in Chapter IV will be followed again, i. e. the history of the meeting places in Athens will be treated first, and then those in the other Greek cities.

### *Athens*

(1) *Council of the Areopagus.* This was the earliest council in Athens and the direct continuation of the Homeric council of nobles attending the king. Its important political functions were lost rather early, but it long continued to exercise considerable authority, especially in certain legal prerogatives. It probably assembled at first, according to Homeric custom, in the "strong house of Erechtheus" on the Acropolis.<sup>7</sup> This palace, or at least a part of it, seems in time to have acquired the name prytaneum. It is natural that in the early period the Prytaneum, symbolizing the very life of the city, should have been situated in the most protected place. Then, at some relatively early time, it was moved down from the Acropolis.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Pollux, *op. cit.*, IX, 28-46.

<sup>6</sup> X, 4, 1.

<sup>7</sup> The two column bases still preserved there supposedly belonged to a Mycenaean megaron. L. B. Holland (*A. J. A.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 288-298) has advanced the theory that a prytaneum, not a temple, succeeded this palace and continued in use down to the Persian destruction. However, the ruins on the Acropolis seem unquestionably to be those of a temple, and the newly discovered building of the early sixth century B. C. in the Agora was more probably the prytaneum of that period. Holland believes that a general council in these early times may have met in the open air.

<sup>8</sup> Harpocration (*s. v.* "ὁ κάρωνες νόμος") puts the transfer of Solon's laws in the time of Ephialtes (460 B. C.) and says they were placed in the Bouleuterion in the Agora (cf. p. 155). Wachsmuth (*Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum*, I, pp. 463-470) maintains that the Prytaneum was moved only once, i. e. from the Acropolis to the neighborhood of the North Slope, where Pausanias' description and inscriptions found in the vicinity prove that it was located in Hellenistic and Roman times. Curtius (*Attische Studien*, II, pp. 54, 55) believes that in the Archaic and Classical periods it was located in

Even before this transfer, however, the council of the Areopagus seems to have begun to hold its meetings on the hill of that name which lies immediately west of the Acropolis. The early date is indicated by such tenacious and well-established traditions as the trial there of Ares and Orestes. The fact that this council met under the open sky<sup>9</sup> is explained by the superstition that all cases of murder should be tried in the open air to avoid pollution.<sup>10</sup> It is likely that the meetings were convened in the level area on the east summit. A stairway cut in the rock now leads up to this area, and its upper part seems to be ancient.<sup>11</sup> There is mention in literature of the "stone of outrage" (λίθος ὕβρεως) on which the prosecutor stood, and the "stone of shamelessness" (λίθος ἀναιδείας) where the defendant took his place.<sup>12</sup> Lucian twice refers to meetings of this council held at night, but this can scarcely have been the regular procedure.<sup>13</sup> Laws were in-

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the Agora. He brings in Pollux's statement (*op. cit.*, VIII, 128) that certain documents were brought down from the Acropolis to the Prytaneum and the Agora, and also Plutarch's remark (*Theseus*, 24, 4) that Theseus established a common Prytaneum and Bouleuterion "in that place . . . where the city (τὸ ἄστυ) is now built." Probably Curtius is right, but the lateness of his authorities and the confusion which existed then between the Tholos and the Prytaneum make certainty from literary evidence impossible.

<sup>9</sup> Aristotle, *op. cit.*, 57, 4; Pollux, *op. cit.*, VIII, 118.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Antiphon, *On the Murder of Herodes*, 11. The cuttings on the hill do not warrant the supposition that an ancient building of any size ever stood there. Vitruvius (II, 1, 5) says: "To this day there is a relic of antiquity on the Areopagus with a mud roof." It is unknown where this building stood or what it was, but it certainly did not house the regular meetings of this council.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Judeich, *op. cit.*, pp. 299, 300. He considers that the situation near the shrine of the Furies is significant.

<sup>12</sup> Pausanias, I, 28, 5.

<sup>13</sup> *Hermotimus*, 64; *De Domo*, 18. A passage in Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* (57, 4) is often quoted in confirmation of this, but Sandys (p. 215, edition of 1893) admits that the reading *σκραῖοι* is doubtful and in his last edition discards it. Moreover, Lucian himself in another passage (*Bis Accusatus*, 12) implies that the sittings were in the daytime.

scribed on stelae and set up on the Areopagus,<sup>14</sup> and Pausanias saw there an altar of Athena Areia.<sup>15</sup>

This council also held meetings down in the Agora in the Royal Stoa. We read in one passage:

The Council of the Areopagus, when it sits roped off in the King's Portico [Royal Stoa], enjoys complete freedom from disturbance, and all men hold aloof.<sup>16</sup>

This was the most natural building for them to choose, since the king archon, who was their president, had his office there, and it was the repository for the laws of Solon and other ancient ordinances. It is likely that this was the regular meeting place when weather was inclement and business was pressing.

The council of the Areopagus underwent many vicissitudes in the course of Athenian history, but for centuries it had not been so much in prominence as it was in the early Imperial period. Its authority was then regularly specified in inscribed decrees, but in only one case is the place of meeting specified. In an honorary decree passed *ca.* 40-42 A. D., the formula "Areopagus at Eleusis" (*Ἀρειος Πάγος ἐν Ἐλευσίνι*) occurs.<sup>17</sup> The decree was passed on Boedromion 25 or 26, immediately after the celebration of the mysteries at Eleusis. The members must have remained an extra day in Eleusis to attend this session, and the place and time are apparently extraordinary. There is no evidence for this period to show that the council was not continuing to meet regularly on the Areopagus itself, and the chances are that such a time-honored custom would persist.

Plutarch seems to imply that the members of the council of the Areopagus sat together in the sessions of the assembly, for as a body they solidly supported a certain course of action at one meeting.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Lysias, *On the Murder of Eratosthenes* (1), 30.

<sup>15</sup> I, 28, 5.

<sup>16</sup> (Demosthenes), *Against Aristogeiton*, 1, 23.

<sup>17</sup> I. G., IV<sup>2</sup>, 83, l. 8.

<sup>18</sup> *Phocion*, 16, 3.

(2) *The Popular Council*. If, as some have maintained,<sup>19</sup> there was in existence before the time of Draco or Solon a popular council, which probably numbered three hundred members, it is likely that it held its meetings in or near the Prytaneum on the Acropolis. The probability that the Prytaneum was moved down to the Agora at a relatively early period has already been considered, and a group of foundations of civic character discovered in the excavation of the Athenian Agora may include it.<sup>20</sup> In the late sixth century, about the time of Cleisthenes, the "Old Bouleuterion" was built over the northern part of the earlier building. Its greater area and improved interior arrangement were better suited for a permanent auditorium. This would be almost imperative when the number of the council was increased by Cleisthenes from four hundred to five hundred. It was apparently in use as an auditorium after the Persian Wars and down to the last quarter of the fifth century B. C. During this period there is no specific mention of the Bouleuterion as the meeting place of an actual session of the council,<sup>21</sup> but it is referred to from the middle of the fifth century onward as the place for storing official political documents.<sup>22</sup>

### *Literary Evidence*

There are a good many informative literary references to the Bouleuterion in the late fifth century B. C. This is presumably the "New Bouleuterion," which will be discussed later in this chapter. Aristophanes had ridiculed Cleon and other officials in the *Babylonians* and was dragged off to the Bouleuterion to answer charges of defaming the state in the

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, pp. 46-48; Lange, *Die Epheten und der Areopag vor Solon*, pp. 26 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Thompson, *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, especially pp. 8-15, 40-44. For a full discussion of the various periods of the Bouleuterion in Athens, cf. pp. 170-179 and Plates III, IV, XIX.

<sup>21</sup> In a few passages, "bouleuterion" is used in a very general sense to mean a place of deliberation. Cf. Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 684, 704, where it is used of the tribunal of the Areopagus.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. pp. 160-165 dealing with the archives.

presence of foreigners.<sup>23</sup> Again, the sausage seller in the *Knights* went to the Bouleuterion and, dashing open the wicket (κεγκλῖς), entered and addressed the councillors. When they heard that pilchards were so cheap, they shouted to the *prytaneis* to dismiss them and overleaped the railings (δρύφακτοι) everywhere.<sup>24</sup> Andocides, speaking of the events of 416/5 B. C., tells how the herald displayed the signal (σημείον) calling on the council to go to the Bouleuterion.<sup>25</sup> Again, when the verdict was going against them during the trial in the Bouleuterion, two of the accused took refuge at the altar of Hestia (ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν ἐκαθέζοντο), and Andocides himself, when in danger, leaped to the same altar.<sup>26</sup> Antiphon, reciting a speech written for him not many years before his death in 411 B. C., says that a certain man had stood with him on the platform (βῆμα) in the Bouleuterion, facing the council. A little later in the same speech he relates:

And they, seeing me deliberate and going into the Bouleuterion. . . . And in the Bouleuterion itself [ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ] is a sanctuary [ἱερὸν] of Zeus Boulaeus and Athena Boulaea, and entering [or as they enter] the councillors pray; and when I was one of them I did likewise.<sup>27</sup>

Thucydides writes thus of the establishment of the Four Hundred in 411 B. C.:

Then these, being four hundred, should enter the senate-chamber [βουλευτήριον] and govern. . . . The leaders of the oligarchy then introduced the Four Hundred into the senate-chamber in the following manner. . . . The Four Hundred, each carrying a concealed dagger and accompanied by the one hundred and twenty young men . . . broke in upon the regular senators who were in the senate-chamber, and told them to get their pay and go out.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>23</sup> *Acharnians*, 379.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 485, 824-875.

<sup>25</sup> *On the Mysteries*, 36 and 44.

<sup>26</sup> *On His Own Recall*, 15.

<sup>27</sup> *Concerning the Choral Dancer*, 40 and 45.

<sup>28</sup> VIII, 67, 69.

Again, when the opposition was gaining impetus, he says:

On the next day the Four Hundred, though much disturbed, assembled nevertheless in the senate-chamber.<sup>20</sup>

Lysias tells of the mass trial in the Bouleuterion in 404 B. C.:

The Thirty were seated on the benches [βάθρα] which are now the seats of the presiding magistrates; two tables were set before the Thirty, and the vote had to be deposited, not in urns, but openly on these tables.<sup>21</sup>

Xenophon graphically records the trial and death of Theramenes. When Critias saw that the council was favorably disposed to Theramenes, he

went and held a brief consultation with the Thirty and then went out and ordered the men with the daggers to take their stand at the railing [δρύφακτοι] in plain sight of the senate. . . . When Theramenes heard this, he sprang to the altar [ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν] . . . Satyrus dragged Theramenes away from the altar [βωμός] . . . but the senators kept quiet, seeing that the men at the rail were of the same sort as Satyrus and that the space in front of the senate-house [τὸ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου] was filled with the guardsmen . . . so they led the man away to the market-place.<sup>22</sup>

Finally, a fragment from Philochorus provides the information that, in 410/9 B. C., after the restored democracy,

The council sat according to letter [κατὰ γράμμα], and since then they swear to sit each in his letter (γράμματι).<sup>23</sup>

Thus, it is clear that, in the late fifth century B. C., the Bouleuterion was in turn the assembly place of the popular council, the Four Hundred, the Thirty, and the council of the restored democracy. Also, something can be gathered as to details of its interior arrangements, of which all traces have now vanished (cf. Plate XVIII). Low railings (δρύφακτοι) separated the seats from the "orchestra" or open space at

<sup>20</sup> VIII, 93.

<sup>21</sup> *Against Agoratus*, 37.

<sup>22</sup> *Hellenica*, II, 3, 50-56.

<sup>23</sup> Fragment 119 (*F. H. G.*, I, p. 403). Cf. *B. S. A.*, XXXIII p. 118; *Cl. Quar.*, XXIV, 1930, p. 118.



the front, where the bema obviously stood. These railings were presumably of wood and controlled circulation between the auditorium and the orchestra and entrance. The councillors in Aristophanes' description could not wait to pass through the regular gaps or gates in this railing, but leaped over it. The gate (κιγκλῖς) mentioned by Aristophanes was apparently at the main entrance into the orchestra from outside and was meant to keep out intruders when the council was in session. Probably the outer doors were left open to help light the interior during sessions, and a secondary gate or grille was used to close off the doorway.

There were also special seats (βάθρα) for the *prytaneis*, and an open space in front of them sufficiently large for two tables to be set in it and for the councillors to pass by these and cast their votes. At first glance, the obvious place for these special seats is the front rows in the auditorium proper. But the railing apparently ran in front of these, and it would have had to be set some distance out into the orchestra to leave room for tables and a passage. This arrangement would have wasted considerable valuable space.<sup>33</sup> Another arrangement which would suit the known details might be suggested on the analogy of that in the Pnyx, where the seats of the *prytaneis* faced the rest of the audience.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps in the Bouleuterion, too, there were seats for the presiding prytany behind the bema and opposite the main auditorium. The heavy and wide stone foundation still preserved at the front (east) of the Bouleuterion may have served in part to support such a construction.

A platform (βῆμα) for the speaker stood in the orchestra. It was large enough to accommodate at least one other person, but it was probably of light construction. Somewhere near it, probably in front of it, was an altar of Hestia, at which the condemned took refuge. An altar in the middle of the orchestra is a common feature in extant political meeting places.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> It is possible, of course, that the railings were behind the *bathra*, separating them from the rest of the seats of the auditorium.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. pp. 73-75.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. pp. 274-275.

Then, there was a chapel (ἱερόν) of Zeus Boulaeus and Athena Boulaea "in the Bouleuterion itself." The participle εἰσόντες seems to imply that it lay in the way of the councillors "as they entered," and the logical place for these statues to have stood is in the corridor leading into the orchestra from the south. The word *hieron* need not mean a separate room.<sup>36</sup>

In the literature and inscriptions of the fourth century B. C. there are very few specific references which are of any help in the reconstruction of the interior arrangements of the building. There is mention again of the gate, which prevented individuals from disturbing the deliberations of the council.<sup>37</sup> In this period, the formula "Council in the Bouleuterion" (βουλὴ ἐν [or ἐμ] βουλευτηρίῳ) begins to appear in the prescripts of decrees of the council.<sup>38</sup> Somewhere about the last quarter of this century, paintings of the Thesmothetae were done in the Bouleuterion by Protogenes, a contemporary of Alexander the Great.<sup>39</sup> Their exact position in the building is a matter of conjecture.<sup>40</sup>

To the third century B. C. may be safely assigned the painting of Callippus, who in 279 B. C. led the Athenians to Thermopylae to stop the incursion of the Gauls into Greece.<sup>41</sup> The picture was painted by Olbiades, who is unknown, except for a brief mention by Pliny. It was probably done fairly soon after the event, perhaps in the second quarter of the century. In several inscribed decrees of this period a building called the

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<sup>36</sup> For a reconstruction of these details, cf. Plate XVIII. For the *hieron*, cf. also notes 48 and 51 of this chapter.

<sup>37</sup> (Demosthenes), *loc. cit.*

<sup>38</sup> Cf. the discussion of epigraphical formulae on pp. 138-141.

<sup>39</sup> Pausanias, I, 3, 5.

<sup>40</sup> Köhler (*Hermes*, V, 1871, p. 342; *A. M.*, III, 1878, pp. 144-146) thinks that this painting was not in the Bouleuterion, but in the Thesmotheteum, which he places close by. But the next painting mentioned was certainly in the Bouleuterion, and there is no good reason to doubt that the painting of the Thesmothetae was also there.

<sup>41</sup> Pausanias, *loc. cit.*

"Synedrium" is mentioned, and it is probable that this is simply another connotation for the Bouleuterion.<sup>42</sup>

Nothing definite is known of the Bouleuterion in the second century B. C. A series of inscriptions shows that in the second half of the first century B. C. it became customary to honor the treasurer of the council by displaying in the Bouleuterion a portrait (εἰκών) of him in gilded armor and by inscribing the honorary decree in stone and setting it up in the Bouleuterion.<sup>43</sup> This practice is quite in keeping with the spirit of the times and is attested for other cities.

An interesting, but unfortunately fragmentary, inscription dating *ca.* the beginning of the first century B. C. deals with repairs to a large number of public buildings and public works in Athens, Piraeus, Eleusis, and the neighboring districts.<sup>44</sup> At one point it speaks of "the old [or original] Bouleuterion" (τὸ ἀρχαῖον βουλευτήριον). Judeich takes this to refer to a building in Piraeus and says that it is otherwise unknown.<sup>45</sup> But several other edifices mentioned in the same section, such as "the old Strategeum" and a sanctuary of Agathe Tyche, could have referred to buildings in Athens itself, and there appears to be no reason why the "old Bouleuterion" cannot have been that in the Agora of the upper city. A building of the fifth century would certainly have been thought of as "old" after four hundred years.<sup>46</sup>

Pausanias, visiting Athens in the second century A. D., saw in the Bouleuterion, in addition to the paintings mentioned above, a wooden statue (*xoanon*) of Zeus Boulaeus, an Apollo by Peisias, and a Demus by Lyson.<sup>47</sup> It is impossible to say at what period the last two statues were placed there. The statue of Zeus Boulaeus was almost certainly there in the late

<sup>42</sup> Cf. the full discussion of this problem in Appendix II.

<sup>43</sup> *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1048, 1049, 1050, 1061.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 1035, l. 43.

<sup>45</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 455.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. later discussion of the formula "council in Piraeus," p. 143.

<sup>47</sup> *I.*, 3, 5.

fifth century B. C., for Antiphon mentions the chapel of this god and of Athena Boulaca as being in the Bouleuterion itself.<sup>48</sup> His account makes it likely that there was also a *xoanon* of Athena, although it may have disappeared by Pausanias' day. The fact that at least one was a *xoanon* suggests that they were comparatively early. The cult was a continuous one, for in Roman times a seat in the Theater was reserved for the priest of Zeus Boulaeus and Athena Boulaea,<sup>49</sup> and two inscriptions of the first century A. D. honor this same priest.<sup>50</sup>

The altar of Hestia was closely associated with the Bouleuterion.<sup>51</sup> This association, which occurs in other cities too, is significant in connection with the origin of the bouleuterion. Hestia was the patron goddess of the sacred fire which was kept burning in the prytaneum of every Greek city, and this substantiates the theory that the prytaneum originally included among its functions that of being the meeting place of the council. Thus, when the bouleuterion became differentiated as a separate building, the patron goddess of the prytaneum naturally took her place in it. About the middle of the fourth century B. C. Hestia is first mentioned with the epitheton "Boulaia."<sup>52</sup> Several later authors speak of

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<sup>48</sup> It is barely possible that in Antiphon's time these statues were kept in a separate room in the Old Bouleuterion, which continued to be called "bouleuterion" until the late fourth century B. C. Cf. pp. 164-165.

<sup>49</sup> *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5054.

<sup>50</sup> *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3543, 3544.

<sup>51</sup> It appears also to have been called the altar of Zeus Boulaeus. The scholiast on Aeschines (*On the False Embassy*, 45) says: "The altar in the *boulé* belonged to Zeus. Therefore, he calls on Hestia Boulaea at the altar of Zeus . . . that Zeus who was in that *boulé*." Similarly, in the *Anecdota Graeca* (Bachmann, I, p. 181), a passage runs: "The altar in the *boulé* belonged to Zeus. . . . It was called 'Boulaia' from the *boulé*." Cook (*Zeus*, II, p. 259) believes that Hestia Boulaea was perhaps the original consort of Zeus Boulaeus. Thus, it is also possible that the *hieron* of Zeus Boulaeus and Athena Boulaea was simply the altar in the orchestra.

<sup>52</sup> Aeschines, *On the False Embassy*, 45.

Hestia Boulaea and connect her with the council and the bouleuterion.<sup>53</sup>

*Epigraphical Formulae.*<sup>54</sup> "Council in [the] Bouleuterion" (βουλὴ ἐν [or ἐμ] βουλευτηρίῳ). It has been shown that in the late fifth century B. C. the councils of both the oligarchy and democracy regularly made use of the building specially constructed for their meetings.<sup>55</sup> Literary allusions make it clear that this continued to be the case during the fourth century B. C. Moreover, it appears that at almost exactly the same time as in the case of the assembly the council began to specify its place of meeting in the preambles of its inscribed decrees.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Diodorus Siculus, XIV, 4, 7; Suidas and Harpocration, s. v. "βουλαία." As early as the middle of the third century B. C. there is mention of an Artemis Boulaea, to whom the *prytaneis* regularly sacrificed (cf. *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 790, 890, 916, 977), and a recently discovered inscribed decree of the last quarter of the third century provides for the stele to be set up "by the altar of Artemis Boulaea in the Agora" (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 450, no. 3, ll. 19, 20). Since this stele was discovered about 10 m. northeast of the Tholos, her altar was near the Bouleuterion, and she may be associated with the other three deities bearing the same epitheton. Cf. also *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 63-66.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. especially Dow, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XLVIII, 1937, pp. 110, 111, 116, 117. There, most of the epigraphical evidence is collected and briefly but capably handled. The material has been collected independently here, and additions and changes have been made in some cases. Relevant literary evidence has also been adduced.

<sup>55</sup> Lines 41 and 42 of the inscribed decree of 410/9 B. C. in honor of Thrasybulus (*I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 110) have been restored: τὴν βουλὴν βουλευσ[α]ι ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐδ[ρᾳ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ] καὶ . . . There are literary parallels for this at the period, and it is much more likely than the alternative restoration: βουλευσ[α]ι ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἐδ[ρᾳ τῇ ἐν Ἀρείῳ Πάγῳ] καὶ . . . Then, in the fragmentary inscription (*I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 114, ll. 31-35), dating in 410/9 or 409/8 B. C. and recording the constitution of the restored democracy, there is preserved on the stone the information that it was to be passed with the consent of the people in a full session of the assembly and—a break—ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ. The second body to be restored in the lacuna must be the council, and this is the earliest specification on stone of its meeting place.

<sup>56</sup> It has been suggested (p. 58) that this practice is perhaps

Some twenty-two inscriptions have been found with the formula "Council in [the] Bouleuterion" in the preambles. It has not seemed necessary to compile a table of these decrees, as was done in the case of those in the section on the assembly, but they have been arranged in a footnote in chronological order.<sup>57</sup> The earliest dates in 336/5 B. C., the second in

to be connected with Lycurgus, who was in power in Athens at this time. He carried out important repairs in the Theater, and it may be that it was only after these that the Theater became superior to the Pnyx as a place of meeting and so was more and more used by the assembly. It would then be necessary, or at least desirable, to designate the fact when the assembly was held there, and the council may well have imitated the practice in its inscribed decrees.

<sup>57</sup>

No.	Reference	Date
1.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 330, ll. 30, 31	336/5 B. C.
2.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 338, l. 33	333/2
3.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 361, l. 5	325/4
4.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 917, l. 28	223/2
5.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 847, l. 6	215/4
6.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 915, l. 10	203/2
7.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 912, l. 3	slightly before 200
8.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 864, l. 4	193/2
9.	Dow, <i>Prytaneis</i> , p. 96, no. 47, ll. 3, 4	191/0
10.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 897, ll. 4-6	185/4
11.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 898, l. 5	185/4
12.	<i>Hesperia</i> , X, 1941, p. 278, no. 74, ll. 28, 29	184/3
13.	Dow, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 120, no. 64, l. 29	178/7
14.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 948, ll. 5, 6	ca. 166/5
15.	<i>Hesperia</i> , III, 1934, p. 21, no. 19, l. 3	166/5
16.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 952, l. 3	ca. 161/0
17.	Dow, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 144, no. 79, l. 38	159/8
18.	<i>Hesperia</i> , III, 1934, p. 31, no. 21, l. 11	155/4
19.	<i>I. G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 1012, ll. 6, 7	112/1
20.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1014, ll. 4, 5	109/8
21.	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1046, l. 5	52/1
22.	Dow, <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 185, no. 114, l. 5	ca. 30-20 B. C.
		(Age of Augustus)

This formula should almost certainly be restored in *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 899, l. 8. It should be noticed that the preposition *ἐν* is restored in no. 1 and is on the stone in nos. 2, 3 and 4, while in no. 5 *ἐν* first occurs. They alternate at the beginning of the second century, but *ἐν* is

333/2 B. C., and the third in 325/4 B. C. Then there is a lacuna of over a century until 223/2 B. C. After this, the formula continues regularly through the late third, second, and into the first century B. C. It may be that the gap from 325 to 223 B. C. is to be explained, in part at least, by the extensive alterations which were made in the Bouleuterion in the early third century B. C. During this period it would not have been available for meetings of the council.

A decree passed by the council and assembly in 185/4 B. C. preserves this unique formula:

special council in the Bouleuterion called by the generals, and after the council meeting an assembly with full power in the Theater (βουλή ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ σύγκλητος στρατηγῶν παραγγειλάντων καὶ ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ).<sup>58</sup>

This meeting of the council was evidently called on short notice. Probably the generals wanted to introduce at that meeting of the assembly some very pressing item which the council had to consider first. Both meeting places are the regular ones at this period.

Aristotle says:

The council indeed meets every day except holidays . . . And the Presidents put up written notice of the business to be dealt with by the council, and of each day's agenda, and of the place of meeting.<sup>59</sup>

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regularly found after that date. The only certain exceptions are no. 15 of 166/5 and no. 21 of 52/1 B. C. Also, the formula in the latest decree is restored βουλή ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ. The addition of the article would be without parallel, and, although such a variation is quite possible, it is best to regard it as uncertain, unless it is actually found entirely on stone. The regular omission of the article in this formula and its inclusion in the formula "assembly in the Theater" is probably to be explained by the fact that the assembly did meet in a theater other than that of Dionysus, while there was apparently no other bouleuterion in which the council could meet. Cf. Dow, *Harvard Studies*, XLVIII, 1937, p. 110.

<sup>58</sup> *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 897, ll. 4-6.

<sup>59</sup> *Op. cit.*, 43, 3. In the latter phrase, the reading *ὅπου καθίζει* has been adopted by Wilamowitz and Kaibel, instead of the *οἰουκαθίζει* of the codex, and this seems to give the only sensible meaning, in view of the context. For an example of such a notice to be posted in the Bouleuterion, cf. *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 120, ll. 24-30.

This implies that meetings of the council in places other than the Bouleuterion were not at all out of order. Evidence exists in literature and inscriptions for some of these extraordinary meeting places.

" *Council in Piraeus* " (βουλὴ ἐμ Πειραιεῖ). Among the important duties of the council were the inspection of state triremes and their rigging, surveillance of naval sheds, and contracting for the building of new triremes.<sup>60</sup> Such business would demand the actual presence of the councillors in the dockyards, and, as a matter of fact, they held more or less formal sessions there.

The first notice of such a meeting occurs in the decree of 426/5 B. C. about the settling of Methone. The council is to deal with business concerning the other cities,

when the second prytany after the sessions in the dockyard assumes office (ἐπειδὴν εἰσέλθῃ ἡ π]ρυ[ταν]εία ἡ δευτ[έρα] μετὰ τὰς ἐν τῷ νεωρίῳ εἰ[δ]ρας).<sup>61</sup>

The dockyard referred to is presumably the most important one, which was situated in Piraeus, probably on the west side of Cantharus harbor.<sup>62</sup> This would have provided a more or less suitable and protected place where the council could assemble near the ships and have handy the rigging and other equipment which had to be examined.<sup>63</sup>

In a long inscription of 325/4 B. C., having to do with the accounts of the curators of naval supplies, there is the following provision:

The council of Five Hundred shall see to the orders for the dispatch of vessels, punishing according to law the trierarchs who are unprepared. And the *prytaneis* shall convene a session of the council on the quay [χωμα] to superintend the dispatch of the vessels, and this shall be looked after without interruption until the vessels sail.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Aristotle, *op. cit.*, 48, 1.

<sup>61</sup> *I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 57, ll. 53-55.

<sup>62</sup> Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 449.

<sup>63</sup> The restoration ἐν τῷ νεωρίῳ in the case of a meeting of the assembly in *I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 98, l. 17 has been regarded as unlikely (cf. pp. 52, 53).

<sup>64</sup> *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1629, B, ll. 243-250. The *choma* was apparently the



Again, in a literary passage, this decree is quoted :

The trierarchs should launch their ships and bring them up to the pier, and the members of the Senate and the demarchs should make out lists of the demesmen and reports of available seamen, and the armament should be dispatched at once.<sup>65</sup>

Apparently, the council, along with other officials in more or less informal session, examined the triremes as they were made ready for inspection, and it had to meet every day until all were prepared. The insistence on speed is quite understandable in the case of sending off an expedition; otherwise, there are indications that the inspection was annual.<sup>66</sup>

Plutarch mentions a "session of the council which was convened in Piraeus" (ἐν Πειραιεὶ βουλῆς γενομένης) in 320 B. C.<sup>67</sup> The business before it was intended to be of a political nature, and no mention is made of the navy. Two decrees of the council, passed apparently in the first half of the second century B. C., have the formula "Council in Piraeus."<sup>68</sup> The one honors a prytany, and the other commends a priest of Zeus Soter in Piraeus. It is, of course, possible that other items of business at these meetings concerned naval matters, but Athens had little need for discussing such affairs at this period. Hence, it would seem that the meetings of the council held in Piraeus, like the assemblies there, were originally concerned with specifically naval affairs, but as time went on, they usually dealt with ordinary business.<sup>69</sup> It is worth

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quay on which, or beside which, the ships could be drawn up for inspection (Wachsmuth, *op. cit.*, II, p. 95).

<sup>65</sup> Demosthenes, *Against Polycles*, 6.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Demosthenes, *Concerning the Crown of the Trierarchy*, 4; Böckh, *Urkunden über das Seewesen des Attischen Staates*, XIV.

<sup>67</sup> *Phocion*, 32, 3.

<sup>68</sup> Dow, *loc. cit.*, p. 94, no. 44, l. 3, preserving the formula βουλῇ ἐμ Πειραιεὶ; *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 783, l. 4. According to the commentary in the *Corpus*, the latter was inscribed in the time of the thirteen tribes, perhaps 204/3 B. C. But Dow, *Harvard Studies*, XLVIII, 1937, p. 111 dates it in 163/2 B. C., following Meritt, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 30-31.

<sup>69</sup> It might be pointed out that in the one case the honorary decree was passed on behalf of a priest of Zeus Soter in Piraeus, and it is

noting that in this series the one preserved date in the prytany is the twenty-third.<sup>70</sup> In view of the fact that the assembly in Piraeus was held in the third decade of the prytany, it is possible that the council regularly met there just preceding a session of the assembly.

The exact place in Piraeus where these later meetings were held is unknown. It can hardly have continued to be the dockyards.<sup>71</sup> They must have been used in the fifth and fourth centuries only because of the nature of the business. If the above-mentioned Old Bouleuterion was in Piraeus, as Judeich believes, it would no doubt have served in this later period.<sup>72</sup> Perhaps the Theater in Munychia was used for the meetings of the council as well as for the assembly, as was occasionally the case in Athens itself.<sup>73</sup>

"*Council in the Eleusinium*" (βουλή ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ). Andocides, in the course of his defense, speaks as follows:

And when we had returned from Eleusis and the writ had been served, the *basileus* was proceeding to deal with matters arising out of the celebration of the mysteries at Eleusis, as is customary; and the *prytaneis* said that he should bring them before the council and gave orders for me and Cephisius to be summoned to appear at the Eleusinium; for the council was about to hold a session there according to the law of Solon, which provides that a session be held in the Eleusinium on the day after the celebration of the mysteries.<sup>74</sup>

The Eleusinian festival was celebrated annually in the autumn from the fifteenth to the twenty-third or twenty-fourth of

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possible that the council in session there was still concerned to some extent with matters having to do with Piraeus. There is too little evidence to prove this one way or the other.

<sup>70</sup> *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 783, l. 3. Cf. pp. 54-56.

<sup>71</sup> Busolt (*Griechische Staatskunde*, p. 1026, note 3) takes it for granted that there was no change.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1035, which is discussed on p. 136. But there would seem to have been no need for such a building, at least until the middle of the third century B. C. when Athens was freed, and it is doubtful whether a building erected after that time would have been referred to in such terms at the beginning of the first century B. C.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Dow, *Harvard Studies*, XLVIII, 1937, p. 111, note 3.

<sup>74</sup> *On the Mysteries*, 111.

Boedromion, and it is clear from this passage that it was the custom to convene the council in the Eleusinium in Athens on the day following (*ὑστεραία*), i. e. Boedromion twenty-fourth or twenty-fifth.

A single inscription makes it clear that this law was still observed at least as late as the end of the third century B. C. This is a decree of the council in honor of the officers of the preceding prytany and dated in 212/11 B. C.<sup>75</sup> Its preamble contains this unique formula:

Council in the Bouleuterion, and [transferred] from the Bouleuterion in the Eleusinium (*βουλὴ ἐν [βο]υ[λα]ε[υ]τ[η]ρίῳ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ*).

Köhler observed that the honors decreed here have nothing to do with the Eleusinian rites, and he therefore thought it likely that the council dispatched this business in the Bouleuterion before moving to the Eleusinium to consider religious matters. This explains the formula satisfactorily. The day of its passing is shown by Dow to have been Boedromion twenty-four, which is the first possible day for a session after the festival.<sup>76</sup>

On the basis of the above inscription, the formula "Council in the Eleusinium" may be restored with great probability in the preamble of another decree.<sup>77</sup> Only the phrase *βουλὴ ἐν τῷ* is preserved in this case, and the exact length of line is uncertain; but the date is Boedromion twenty-four.<sup>78</sup> Hence, this meeting would be the first one after the festival and would naturally be held in the Eleusinium. Furthermore, no other place of meeting so well fills the other requirements. The business under discussion is unknown.

The Eleusinium has not been exactly located, but recent excavation has established the fact that there was a sanctuary

<sup>75</sup> *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 848, ll. 30, 31. The corrected date and a better text are given by Dow, *Prytaneis*, pp. 81-84, no. 36, ll. 38, 39.

<sup>76</sup> *Harvard Studies*, XLVIII, 1937, p. 117.

<sup>77</sup> *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 794, l. 4.

<sup>78</sup> Or possibly twenty-six or twenty-seven, if the count is forward. Cf. Dow, *loc. cit.*, pp. 110, 117.

with important Eleusinian connections situated north of the west end of the Acropolis near the line of the Valerian Wall.<sup>79</sup> The failure to find remains of a monumental building may indicate that it was merely a precinct surrounding a small chapel. At any rate, it is unlikely that it could have accommodated a full meeting of the council, even if it was a temple of ordinary size. It is much more likely that the councillors assembled in the holy precinct, which is known to have been strongly enclosed.<sup>80</sup>

A third inscription must be discussed under this heading. It is a decree of the council passed in 117/6 B. C. and preserving the formula *βουλὴ ἱερὰ ἐν Ἐλευσεῖνι*.<sup>81</sup> The editors of the *Corpus* restore *ωι* at the end of the formula and believe that it refers to another meeting in the Eleusinium at Athens. But Graindor has proved that the letters are all on the stone and that the meeting of this "holy council" was held in Eleusis itself (*ἐν Ἐλευσεῖνι*).<sup>82</sup> Meritt has shown that this is a case where the count is backward and that the meeting was held on Boedromion twenty-two.<sup>83</sup> Each of these conclusions bears out the other, and it is certain that this meeting of the Athenian council was held in Eleusis during the festival. No connection is obvious between the place and time of passing and the business recorded in the decree.

"*Council on [the] Acropolis*" (*βουλὴ ἐμ πόλει*). A decree of ca. 434/3 B. C. having to do with public funds provides that the newly elected officials are to count and measure out the money from the retiring treasurers and overseers and attendants "in the presence of the council on the Acropolis" (*ἐναντίον τῆς βουλῆς ἐμ πόλει*).<sup>84</sup> Xenophon also records that

<sup>79</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 211.

<sup>80</sup> Thucydides, II, 17, 1. Pausanias refers to two temples in Athens with Eleusinian connections.

<sup>81</sup> *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1072, l. 3.

<sup>82</sup> *Album d'Inscriptions Attiques d'Époque Impériale*, p. 28.

<sup>83</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1936, p. 561.

<sup>84</sup> *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 91, ll. 18-21. Cf. a meeting of the council in the Heraeum at Samos for a similar purpose, p. 154.

the Athenian council "happened to be meeting" on the Acropolis, when news was brought of the defeat of the Spartans at Leuctra.<sup>85</sup> This battle was fought in July, and the transfer of accounts from one board of treasurers to the next took place regularly in July/August. Hence, it is possible that the council which "happened" to be meeting there was actually supervising the handing over of the temple treasury accounts. It is very unlikely that the council was ordinarily convened on the Acropolis for the handling of any other business. It would have been neither a convenient nor a comfortable place for regular meetings, and religious authorities would not have been likely to tolerate the use of the Acropolis as a rendezvous for purely political gatherings.

"*Council in the Theseum*" (ἐν τῷ Θησεῖ[ῳ βουλῇ]). This formula occurs in a decree passed by the council between 83 and 78 B. C. in honor of the ephebes and their trainer.<sup>86</sup> Here, as in the case of the Eleusinium, it is more rational to suppose that the meeting was in the sacred precinct, rather than in the temple itself.<sup>87</sup>

"*Council in the Theater, having been changed from the Panathenaic Stadium*" (βουλῇ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ ἡ μεταχθείσα ἐκ τοῦ Παναθηναίου σταδίου). This formula, too, is known from only one published decree of the council, passed in 38/7 B. C. and also honoring the ephebes and their trainer.<sup>88</sup> It is difficult

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<sup>85</sup> *Hellenica*, VI, 4, 20. The sending of the council to spend the night on the Acropolis during the panic which ensued after the mutilation of the Hermae (Andocides, *On the Mysteries*, 45) was an extraordinary measure, like the others recorded along with it. It had no connection with regular meetings, but was merely a move to keep the councillors together within easy call.

<sup>86</sup> *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039, ll. 2, 3.

<sup>87</sup> There was a precinct of Theseus by the Long Walls, but the reference here is probably to that in the city. In this precinct Themistocles convened an assembly (cf. p. 39). Here, too, trials (Photius, s. v. "Θησεῖον") and elections of certain magistrates (Aristotle, *op. cit.*, 62, 1) were held.

<sup>88</sup> *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1043, ll. 4, 5; Dow, *Harvard Studies*, XLVIII, 1937, p. 111. Schweigert informs me that an unpublished inscription found

to suggest a specific reason for the choice of either of these places to convene the council, or for the change here mentioned. The Theater would have been handy if the council was convened just before a meeting of the assembly there, and it was always at a meeting of the assembly in the Theater that the ephebes were publicly honored. Perhaps the larger number of councillors in later times made it necessary to convene a full session in some place other than the Bouleuterion. Pollux says that a part of the Theater was called the "section of counsel" (βουλευτικὸν μέρος τοῦ θεάτρου), and this may well refer to the part which the council occupied while in session there.<sup>89</sup>

### *Other Cities*

It has been shown that the bouleuterion was a regular feature of the civic center of every independent Greek town or city. In the majority of cases there is, of course, no record of it, either in extant literature and inscriptions or in foundations so identified in the course of excavations. However, bouleuteria are frequently mentioned, and some useful information has been preserved in this connection. Literary and epigraphical references to specific buildings, the remains of which excavators have identified (or tried to identify) as bouleuteria, will be considered with these remains later in this chapter. There are also a number of references to bouleuteria in towns where no excavation has been carried on, or where the bouleuterion, if mentioned, has not been located.<sup>90</sup>

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in recent Agora excavations records a meeting of the assembly in the Panathenaic Stadium. Thus, a preceding council meeting in the same auditorium would be natural enough.

<sup>89</sup> *Op. cit.*, IV, 122.

<sup>90</sup> These have been listed in the alphabetical order of their respective city. In cases where these bouleuteria are known to have been used for the storing of state documents, all references have been collected in the later section on the archives, and in this catalogue a footnote will provide the cross reference. The literary information here adduced has not usually been discussed further; this is reserved for the conclusions in Chapter VII.

*Acragas.*<sup>91</sup>

*Amorgos.*<sup>92</sup>

*Andros.* A short inscription of the first century A. D. records honors voted by the council and the assembly to a contractor in charge of all the repairs on the Bouleuterion, which he had carried out soundly and nobly for his native city.<sup>93</sup>

*Argos.* In the time of the Persian War Argos is said to have had a Bouleuterion in which envoys from Sparta appeared and made propositions to the Argive council.<sup>94</sup>

*Asia Minor*—exact site unknown. Libanius gives a short description of a Bouleuterion, probably in Asia Minor. In an account entitled *Of a Painting in the Bouleuterion*, he says:

And in the court of the Bouleuterion, which is not large but is beautiful, with four colonnades in the center [*στοῶν ἐν μέσῳ τετράρων*] formed by the columns, I saw the following painting.<sup>95</sup>

Later he mentions another painting in the same building; both depicted pastoral scenes.

*Byzantium.* A decree of the first century A. D., voted by the council and assembly in honor of a certain Orontas of Olbia, provides that a gilded statue of him be set up in the Bouleuterion, in a place not occupied by any other.<sup>96</sup>

*Chalcedon.*<sup>97</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Cf. p. 156.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. p. 156.

<sup>93</sup> *I. G.*, XII (5), 755.

<sup>94</sup> Herodotus, VII, 148. It is possible that the word is used here loosely, or in the abstract sense.

<sup>95</sup> *Descriptiones* (3), R IV, 1048, 1057 (fourth century A. D.). Cf. such buildings as the Bouleuterion at Miletus (p. 215) for similar courtyards.

<sup>96</sup> Collitz, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, III<sup>1</sup>, 3059, II. 30, 31.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. p. 157.

*Corinth*. Plutarch records in his *Cleomenes* that Aratus, when it was reported that Argos was captured by the Spartans, summoned the citizens into the council-hall, and then slipped away unnoticed to the city gate.<sup>98</sup>

The same author, telling of the same event in his *Aratus*, says:

He roused the resentment of the populace there . . . So they assembled hastily in the precinct [*ιερόν*] of Apollo and sent for Aratus, determined to kill him or seize him and then to revolt . . . but he rode off to Sicyon.<sup>99</sup>

It is tempting to conclude from these passages that there was in the third century B. C. a bouleuterion very near the temple of Apollo. There is, however, obvious confusion in other details of the story. For instance, Aratus would hardly summon the whole people (*τοὺς πολίτας*) to the bouleuterion; such a building presumably could not have accommodated a large assembly, and Plutarch himself tells of an assembly held by Aratus in the Theater at Corinth. Hence, little faith can be placed in the account. The reference to a bouleuterion there may come from some trustworthy, contemporaneous source, but it is also possible that Plutarch is speaking from his knowledge of Corinth in his own day, when the "curia" was standing. It dates from the first century B. C. and would probably be called "bouleuterion" by the Greeks.<sup>100</sup> He may also have used the word simply in the abstract sense of "meeting."

*Cyzicus* (?). A decree of *ca.* the second half of the second century B. C. voted by the council and assembly honors a certain Diocles, son of Theopompus, and provides for the setting up of a bronze statue of him in the space between the columns (*τὸ μεσόστυλον*) of the Bouleuterion, near the stele

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<sup>98</sup> *Cleomenes*, 19, 1.

<sup>99</sup> *Aratus*, 40, 2-4. Here *ιερόν* is, as usual, wrongly translated "temple" in the Loeb edition.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. pp. 181-182.



already placed there.<sup>101</sup> Hiller ventures the attribution of the inscription to Cyzicus on the somewhat uncertain grounds of the similarity of names in this text to several found in inscriptions there.

*Elis.* Pausanias mentions a "peribolus of a gymnasium," which was called *Maltho* from the softness of its floor. It was reserved for the ephebes during the whole time of the festival. After telling of its various adornments, he continues:

In this gymnasium is also the Elean Council House, where take place exhibitions of ex tempore speeches and recitations of written works of all kinds. It is called Lalichmium after the man who dedicated it. About it are dedicated shields, which are for show and not made to be used in war.<sup>102</sup>

*Epidamnus.*<sup>103</sup>

*Hestiaea.* A decree, passed in 446/5 B. C. by this Athenian colony, is restored in the *Corpus* as follows:

Let the matter be completed in the Bouleuterion whenever the people judges court cases (τελ[έτο ἐς τὸ βουλευτ]έριον ὑταμπερ τὰς δ[ίκας δικάζει δ] δῆμος).<sup>104</sup>

No good reason is advanced for restoring "bouleuterion" rather than "dicasterion," although the latter word occurs several times elsewhere on the stone. Hicks, in his publication of the inscription, is almost certainly right in restoring "dicasterion."<sup>105</sup> This is made even more likely by the next line, where it is specified that the *demos* (people's court) is to judge the suits in the building under discussion.

*Hyamopolis.* Pausanias says that, although Xerxes had burned this town and Philip had destroyed it, there still remained in ruins the structure of the ancient Agora and a Bouleuterion of no great size.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>101</sup> Hiller von Gaertringen, *A. M.*, XXXI, 1906, pp. 430-433; *ibid.*, XXXIII, 1908, p. 161.

<sup>102</sup> VI, 23, 7.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. p. 158.

<sup>104</sup> *I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 40, ll. 15, 16.

<sup>105</sup> *Coll. Anc. Gr. Ins. in the Brit. Mus.*, I, no. 4, pp. 11-13.

<sup>106</sup> X, 35, 6.

*Magnesia on the Maeander.* A decree, passed after 129 B. C. by the council and assembly in connection with an annual celebration in honor of Artemis Leucophryene, provides that the herald, when the Agora is full with the various officers of state, shall call for silence before the Bouleuterion and shall make a certain proclamation.<sup>107</sup>

*Megalopolis.* Pausanias mentions a Bouleuterion in his enumeration of the monuments in the Agora on the north bank of the river.<sup>108</sup> This was presumably the city Bouleuterion, as distinct from the Thersilium on the south side of the river where the Arcadian league was convened. Curtius made a conjectural restoration of the Agora of Megalopolis, basing it on Pausanias' somewhat detailed description.<sup>109</sup> In it the Bouleuterion appears in the open central part.<sup>110</sup>

*Megara.* Pausanias relates:

The Megarians have a council chamber which once, they say, was the grave of Timalcus. . . . In the city are graves of Megarians. . . . The oracle in its reply said that they would fare well if they took counsel with the majority. This utterance they took to refer to the dead, and built a council chamber in this place in order that the grave of their heroes might be within it.<sup>111</sup>

From the period of the later Antonines, and thus a few years after Pausanias' visit, an inscription records that a Megarian general constructed at his own expense the special seats (*καθέδραι*) of "the most revered Bouleuterion."<sup>112</sup> The fact that it was built above graves of heroes would suggest that

<sup>107</sup> Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, 695, l. 41.

<sup>108</sup> VIII, 30, 9.

<sup>109</sup> *Peloponnesus*, I, p. 288.

<sup>110</sup> A piece of a wall in the form of a segment of a circle was located in the eastern part of the Agora, and the suggestion is made that it is part of the apse of a bouleuterion of the form of that at Olympia (*Excavations at Megalopolis*, *J. H. S.*, Supplement I, 1892, pp. 102, 105). This, however, is quite unlikely. Indeed, there is no known case where a bouleuterion was built within the open space of an agora (cf. pp. 250-253).

<sup>111</sup> I, 42, 4; I, 43, 3.

<sup>112</sup> *I. G.*, VII, 25.

this reverence was sincere, and not merely the result of the stilted phraseology of the time.

*Mytilene.*<sup>113</sup>

*Pergamum* (or *Elatea*).<sup>114</sup>

*Priene.* In a very fragmentary inscription, the expression τοῦ τ]ε [β]ουλε[τηρίου has been tentatively restored.<sup>115</sup> If the restoration is correct, it probably refers to the building generally known as the Ecclesiasterion.<sup>116</sup>

*Rhegium.*<sup>117</sup>

*Sicily.* An inscribed decree of 315-330 A. D. provides for the setting up of a statue to a certain individual because he had renewed the cities of Sicily and nobly furnished the bouleuteria.<sup>118</sup>

*Smyrna.* Aelius Aristides, who lived in Smyrna in the second century A. D., tells how it would be on the tip of everyone's tongue that he was going to practice (declaiming) in the Bouleuterion at four o'clock, and how the building would be packed with listeners.<sup>119</sup> He admires the thick skin of the "guard of the Bouleuterion" who had to listen to the declaiming of all the sophists.

*Sparta.* Pausanias says:

The Lacedaemonians who live in Sparta have a market-place worth seeing; the council-chamber of the senate, and the offices [ἀρχαία] of the ephors . . . are all in the market-place.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>113</sup> Cf. pp. 90-91.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. p. 158.

<sup>115</sup> *Inscripfen von Priene*, no. 11, l. 285.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. pp. 90-91.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. p. 158.

<sup>118</sup> Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, 902, l. 2; *I. G.*, XIV, 1078 A (addenda).

<sup>119</sup> XXVII, *Τερῶν λόγος*, E, 354 (Dindorf, pp. 542, 543).

<sup>120</sup> III, 11, 2. The building in which the ephors held their formal meetings was called the "Ephoreion." It was situated in the Agora and was near, or more probably a special room in the *Archeion* (government office building). It contained five special chairs (δῖφροι). Cf. Plutarch, *Cleomenes*, 7, 2; *Old Men in Public Affairs*, 27, 4; *Anonymous Laconian Apothegms*, no. 13.

*Syracuse.* Cicero gives considerable incidental information about the Syracusan "Curia" in the first century B. C. It was situated in the second part of the city, called "Achradina," which contained a large Agora, colonnades, a Prytaneum, a spacious (*amplissima*) Curia, a temple of Olympian Zeus, and other public buildings. He says that in their Curia, "the place which they call 'Bouleuterion'" (*quem locum illi βουλευτήριον nomine appellant*), a revered spot full of glorious memories for them, there stood the bronze statue of the great Marcus Marcellus. There also they erected a gilded statue of Verres and another nude statue of his son. Cicero was invited to attend a meeting of the council, and, when the councillors had assembled in full session in the Curia, Cicero and his friends entered. The councillors rose, and the president invited them to sit down near him.<sup>121</sup>

*Teos.* An inscription of the second century B. C. deals with the disposition of an endowment to the city for educational purposes. The teachers of letters are instructed to produce in the gymnasium the exhibitions which are to be performed, and the teacher of music is to have recitals given "in the Bouleuterion."<sup>122</sup> Thus, this Bouleuterion served as an odeum, and this confirms the theory that already existing bouleuteria and ecclesiasteria were frequently so used when musical exhibitions and contests came into vogue.<sup>123</sup> A stage could be added with little trouble, and the building would adequately serve both purposes.<sup>124</sup>

#### *Extraordinary Meeting Places.*

A very few unusual meeting places of the council are recorded for cities other than Athens. A Delian inscription

<sup>121</sup> Cicero, *Actio Secunda in Verrem*, II, 19, 21, 59; *ibid.*, IV, 53, 61, 64.

<sup>122</sup> Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, 578, II. 32-34.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. p. 63.

<sup>124</sup> A so-called "petite théâtre" was partially excavated at Teos in 1924 (*B. C. H.*, XLIX, 1925, p. 288, Fig. 4). It is somewhat large to identify with the Bouleuterion mentioned here. The excavators do not specify whether or not there is evidence that the building was re-used.

dating somewhat after 166 B. C. preserves the formula "council in [the] Ecclesiasterion" (βουλὴ ἐν ἐκκλησιαστηρίῳ), in spite of the fact that the existence of a Delian Bouleuterion is well attested and that its foundations have probably been identified.<sup>125</sup> A few lines later in the same inscription, reference is made to certain hearings, presumably before the council but possibly before the assembly, in the Ecclesiasterion and in the Theater.

The political organization of the cleruchy of Samos was modeled on that at home in Athens. A Samian inscription, dated in 346/5 B. C., records the handing over of the valuables in the great temple of Hera by one board of treasurers to the next.<sup>126</sup> In it the formula "council in [the] Heraeum" (βουλὴ ἐν Ἡραίῳ) occurs. This was evidently an extraordinary meeting of the council to superintend the change of boards and to check the accounts of the one which was leaving office. It has been noted that the Athenian council held a session on the Acropolis for the same purpose.<sup>127</sup>

Xenophon records that in 366 B. C. Euphron was slain while the archons and council were holding a session on the Acropolis at Sicyon.<sup>128</sup> This was before Demetrius Poliorcetes moved the city and had new public buildings erected, among which was a Bouleuterion.<sup>129</sup> It is possible, therefore, that the Acropolis was the regular meeting place of the Sicyonian council in the fourth century B. C.

The Acropolis was certainly the regular meeting place of the council at Thebes. Xenophon mentions that in 383 B. C. the council had to hold a session in the Stoa in the Agora, because the women were celebrating the Thesmophoria on the Cadmea.<sup>130</sup> These would seem to be instances of the persistence down to a comparatively late date of the old custom of convening the council in or near the king's palace, which was always in the best fortified place, the Acropolis.

<sup>125</sup> *Inscriptions de Délos*, 1506, ll. 2, 3, 6-8. Cf. pp. 91-96.

<sup>126</sup> Hicks and Hill, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 114, p. 226, l. 9.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. pp. 145-146.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. pp. 240-244.

<sup>129</sup> *Hellenica*, VII, 3, 5.

<sup>130</sup> *Op. cit.*, V, 2, 29.

*The Bouleuterion as a Repository for Archives*

It is natural that the earliest documents having to do with political and civil matters should have been kept in the building which was the center of political and civil life, i. e. the prytaneum.<sup>181</sup> Thus, the Athenian tradition preserved by the lexicographers about ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος seems quite credible. Pollux says:

The laws used to be stored in the Acropolis, but later, so that all could consult them, they were changed to the Prytaneum and the Agora.<sup>182</sup>

The earliest Prytaneum in Athens seems to have been on the Acropolis, and when its location was changed, the documents which it contained would naturally be moved along with it.<sup>183</sup>

The evolution of the bouleuterion to fulfil one of the func-

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<sup>181</sup> In the same way, documents and treasures belonging to the various gods were usually stored in their respective sanctuaries. An Athenian inscription of 434 B. C. (*I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 91, ll. 9-13) provides that, "when the rents for sacred lands are paid, the accounts of these debts are to be erased, a search being made for the tablets and accounts, and wherever they are written let the priests and temple attendants and anyone else who knows declare the accounts."

<sup>182</sup> *Op. cit.*, VIII, 128. Cf. also Harpocration, s. v. "ἄξονες"; Suidas, s. v. "ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος"; Mueller, *F. H. G.*, III, 130. Harpocration (s. v. "ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος") says that they were brought down to the Agora and set up in the Bouleuterion. Probably Pollux is right, however, in placing them in the Prytaneum.

<sup>183</sup> It has been considered likely that the Prytaneum was moved first to the Agora, and then to the North Slope of the Acropolis (cf. pp. 128-129). The laws of Solon were at first written on revolving wooden tablets (ἄξονες), of which fragments were still preserved in the Prytaneum in Plutarch's day (*Solon*, 25). About the end of the fifth century B. C. they were revised and written on marble in a free-standing wall in the Royal Stoa (cf. Oliver, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 1-13). Holland (*A. J. A.*, XLV, 1941, pp. 346-362) apparently believes that the old wooden copies were in the Bouleuterion from 460 B. C. until Hellenistic times or later. This is possible, but our authorities are so confusing that it is equally possible that these laws never left the Prytaneum.

tions of the prytaneum, i. e. to provide accommodation for the regular meetings of the council, has been already discussed. Another function of the prytaneum which was frequently transferred to the bouleuterion was that of providing a repository for the state archives. The bouleuterion came to serve as the place for filing political documents on papyrus and wood, and for storing or setting up in view inside or outside the building similar documents inscribed on stone. This transfer is a logical one, for, when the meeting place of the council was shifted, the archives would logically be changed in order to be as accessible as possible for constant reference. Occasionally the prytaneum was retained for the archives,<sup>134</sup> or a building close to the bouleuterion was used, presumably because the bouleuterion could not conveniently accommodate these records.<sup>135</sup> Evidence for a good many cities, however, points to the bouleuterion as the regular depository for documents directly concerning the body meeting in it. The known cases will be arranged in the order of the cities in which they occur; then they will be treated as a group; finally, the evidence on the Athenian archives will be considered.

*Acragas.* A decree of *ca.* 200 B. C. in honor of a Syracusan embassy to the Romans is to be inscribed on two bronze tablets (*χαλκώματα*); one of them is to be set up "in the Bouleuterion," the other to be given to those honored.<sup>136</sup>

*Amorgos.* A proxeny decree passed by the town of Minoa on this island is to be inscribed in the most conspicuous places in the sanctuary of Dionysus and "in the Bouleuterion."<sup>137</sup> The decree is dated *ca.* the second century B. C.

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<sup>134</sup> Polybius (XVI, 15, 8) says that a letter sent by a certain admiral to the Rhodian council and *prytaneis* was in his day still preserved in the Prytaneum.

<sup>135</sup> Pausanias (I, 43, 4) says that at Megara a building between the Bouleuterion and the nearby *heroon* was used "for the safekeeping of documents" (*εἰς γραμμάτων φυλακὴν*). There are other references to distinct buildings for the purpose. Sometimes they are specifically called *γραμματοφυλακεία*.

<sup>136</sup> *C. I. G.*, III, 5491, ll. 22-25.

<sup>137</sup> *A. M.*, XI, 1886, p. 83, col. II, ll. 2, 3.

*Andros.* A honorary decree of the late fourth or early third century B. C. is to be written on a stone stele and set up in the Agora "near the Bouleuterion" (πρόσθε τοῦ βουλευ[υτηρίου]).<sup>138</sup>

*Chalcedon.* A law of ca. 200 B. C., concerned with penalties, adds a provision to inscribe it in hollow letters (κοῖλα γράμματα) on a plaque (σανίς), and place the stele in front of the sanctuary and the plaque in the Bouleuterion (βουλαῖον).<sup>139</sup> This provides important evidence for the storing of perishable documents (the σανίς was apparently of wood) in the Bouleuterion.

*Delos.* A whole series of honorary decrees passed by the council and assembly from ca. 300 B. C. down to the end of the second century B. C. regularly adds this provision:

The council shall record this decree at [eis] the Bouleuterion [or occasionally, in (én) the Bouleuterion], and the temple officers [shall record it] at the sacred precinct.<sup>140</sup>

There are in all some one hundred seventy decrees with this formula preserved or certainly restored. A slightly different formula occurs in a few cases and sheds light on the precise meaning of the more usual one. It runs:

The council shall record this decree at the Bouleuterion, and the temple officers [shall record it] on a stone stele, and place it in the sacred precinct.<sup>141</sup>

This formula leaves no doubt but that the regular procedure was to file away in the Bouleuterion a copy of the decree, probably written on papyrus, and to set up a copy on stone in the sanctuary of Apollo. It was thereabouts that the preserved inscriptions were actually found.

*Delphi.* Two honorary decrees passed by the Delphic council provide that a proxeny decree shall be written up in

<sup>138</sup> *I. G.*, XII (5), 714, ll. 18, 19.

<sup>139</sup> Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, 1011, ll. 15-17.

<sup>140</sup> *I. G.*, XI (4), 510-1021.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 577, 831. Cf. p. 184.



the Bouleuterion (βουλευῶν) according to law.<sup>142</sup> One adds that the decree is also to be written on the wall of the *oikos* of the Athenians. These date from 180 B. C.

*Eleusis.* An Attic decree of *ca.* 220 A. D., concerned with the restoration of the mysteries to their former magnificence, provides that one of the three stelae recording it shall be set up "in the *hieron* in front of the Bouleuterion."<sup>143</sup>

*Epidamnus.* An honorary decree of *ca.* 207/6 B. C. is to be written up "in the Bouleuterion."<sup>144</sup>

*Mytilene.* A decree of the first or second century A. D., concerned with the yearly statement of political policy, is to be written on a marble stele and set up "in the *hieron* of Artemis Thermia and in front of the sacred Bouleuterion" (πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ βουλευτηρίου).<sup>145</sup>

*Pergamum* (?). Wilhelm ascribes this decree to Pergamum, Fabricius to Elatea.<sup>146</sup> It was passed by the assembly in 129 B. C. and provides that copies be made of the *foedus* with the Romans on two bronze tablets (πίνακες), one to be set up in the temple of Demeter, and the other "in the Bouleuterion, beside the statue of Democratia." When these are finished, copies are to be made on two marble stelae.

*Rhégium.* An honorary decree of the second century B. C. is to be inscribed on two bronze tablets (χαλκώματα), one to be placed "in the Bouleuterion," and the other to be given to the person honored.<sup>147</sup>

Inscriptions on stone were set up in various places, but usually either in that most concerned in the text, or else in or near a generally important religious or civil building or pre-

<sup>142</sup> Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, 614, l. 34; 615, ll. 15-17.

<sup>143</sup> *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1078, ll. 40-43. Cf. pp. 188-189.

<sup>144</sup> Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, 560, l. 47; Kern, *Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*, 46, l. 46.

<sup>145</sup> *I. G.*, XII<sup>2</sup>, 67, ll. 11-15.

<sup>146</sup> Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, 694, ll. 25-40.

<sup>147</sup> *I. G.*, XIV, 612, l. 5.

cinct.<sup>148</sup> Hence, the provision to have a stone stele set up in the vicinity of the bouleuterion is not particularly significant, although such documents are likely to be of a primarily political nature. But inscriptions on stone to be set up "in the bouleuterion" are another matter. It is unlikely that they all could be set up within the building in such a way that they could be read without being moved. This would probably require more space than was available. Yet it is unlikely that those concerned would go to the trouble and expense of having a document inscribed on stone merely to be subsequently stored away for reference; bronze and wooden tablets and sheets of papyrus were clearly used for this purpose. It is more likely that a few of the most important documents in stone were actually meant to be displayed in the bouleuterion and that the rest were stored there ready to be set up in some other place, should the need arise. In the cases of Chalcedon, Acragas, Rhegium, and Pergamum, there is definite evidence for a system of filing documents in the bouleuterion on plaques (*συνίδες*) or tablets (*πίνακες*) of wood or bronze, and of making copies from these on stone to be set up in various places for the public to read. It is quite possible that some of these wooden or bronze tablets were also displayed in the bouleuterion, but the vast majority of public documents never could have got beyond the papyrus sheet and must have been carefully stored for reference. The texts from which copies on stone were made at Delos and Delphi were almost certainly on papyrus and were stored in the bouleuterion, as were particular Athenian documents.

In Athens there is, as on most questions, a greater mass of

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<sup>148</sup> Cf. the practice at Athens, where in the early period most of the inscribed stelae were set up on the Acropolis, but later usually in the Agora. During the whole period, various sanctuaries could be used in the case of inscriptions which directly concerned them. In other cities, famous sanctuaries, such as that of Apollo on Delos, were regularly used as places for setting up public inscriptions of all sorts, not only by the people of that particular city, but by others as well. Often, too, copies were made on two or three stone stelae, and these were set up in different places.

evidence on this problem, but the conclusions to be drawn from it are not entirely clear.<sup>149</sup> There is certain documentation of both a literary and epigraphical nature to show that, from 450 to at least 342 B. C., documents written on stone, and probably also on wood and papyrus, were stored "in the Bouleuterion" (ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ),<sup>150</sup> and that, from 399 to 304/3 B. C., stone or bronze stelae were set up "in front of" or "near" the Bouleuterion (ἐμπροσθεν or πρόσθε τοῦ βουλευτηρίου).<sup>151</sup> The subjects with which these records have to do are honors voted in connection with a military expedition, a

<sup>149</sup> Thompson (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 215-217) and Wilhelm (*Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, especially pp. 236-239) provide practically the only systematic treatment of this evidence.

<sup>150</sup> *I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 23, l. 6—450/49(?) B. C.; *ibid.*, 27, ll. 8-10—448/7; *ibid.*, 63, l. 24—425/4; *ibid.*, 76, ll. 26-30—ca. 423/2; *ibid.*, 85, ll. 9-11—before 420; *ibid.*, 87, ll. 41, 42—before 418; Andocides, *On His Own Return*, 23—411; *I. G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 171, ll. 4-7; Aeschines, *On the False Embassy*, 59—343; Demosthenes, *On Halonessus*, 33—342; *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 244, ll. 6-8—337/6 B. C. Kahrstedt (*Klio*, XIII, 1, 1938, pp. 25-32) believes that there were no official archives in Athens before 403/2 B. C., and that the Metroum as such was used for this purpose from the start. There is, indeed, no formal proof that the relevant documents dating before the end of the fifth century were first written on papyrus and that it was usually these, rather than copies on stone, which were to be placed in the Bouleuterion. But such documents on papyrus were absolutely necessary for the carrying on in the Bouleuterion of the business referred to in the copies on stone. They are, in fact, scarcely ever mentioned in any period of Athenian history, but were nevertheless used and filed. Doubtless, the fifth century system was less careful and complete than at later periods. There may have been more documents stored in other places, but at no period were all state documents stored in a single building.

<sup>151</sup> Andocides, *On the Mysteries*, 95—399 B. C.; Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates*, 124 ("in the Bouleuterion"); *ibid.*, 126 ("at the Bouleuterion")—330; *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 195, ll. 6-11—ca. 353/2; *ibid.*, 298, ll. 2-4—ca. 336/5; Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 31, l. 6—327/6; Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 53, 4—ca. 325; *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 487, ll. 19, 20—304/3 B. C.

It may be noticed that the three inscriptions with the formula "in front of the Synedrium" occur in the third century B. C., whereas none with the formula "in front of the Bouleuterion" is preserved after the end of the fourth century B. C. Hence, if bou-

proxeny decree, two (possibly three) tribute decrees, accounts in connection with first fruits dedicated at Eleusis, a treaty of alliance, a decree granting immunity to propose abrogation of a law, a law concerning the safeguarding of democracy, a decree granting immunity from taxation, legislation in connection with allied cities, a letter from Philip of Macedon to the city, and suits preferred by workmen on a public project.<sup>152</sup> Thus, they were of a specifically political nature and would be referred to frequently in council meetings.

There is another series of documents having to do with the Metroum as archives. The earliest is from 426/5 B. C., if Meritt rightly reads *πρόσθε[ν τῷ Μετρόιο]*. Another is from 353.<sup>153</sup> It provides the only certain instance of the formula "set up in front of the Metroum" (*στήσαι ἔμπροσθε τοῦ Μητροῦ*). Beginning in 343 B. C., documents, usually on papyrus or wood and seldom necessarily on stone, are mentioned as being stored "in the Metroum."<sup>154</sup> From then until the third century A. D. the Metroum is without exception referred to as the repository

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leuterion and syndrium had come to be synonymous, there would have been no confusion in the use of the formula with syndrium at this period (cf. Appendix II).

<sup>152</sup> Only the three latest honor a prytany and a private individual and contain a list of ephebes. Again, in the second half of the first century B. C., four honorary decrees provide that painted likenesses of the treasurer of the council be set up in the Bouleuterion, and stelae with the decree inscribed along with them (cf. p. 136).

<sup>153</sup> Cf. Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, p. 166, l. 21. Dow, *A. J. A.*, XLII, 1938, pp. 602-3 questions the restoration, *Μετρόιο*. For the inscription of 353 B. C. cf. *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 140, ll. 34, 35.

<sup>154</sup> Demosthenes, *On the False Embassy*, 129-343 B. C.; Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon*, 187-330; (Demosthenes), *Against Aristogeiton*, A, 70 and 99—ca. 325; *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 463, ll. 28-30-307/6; *ibid.*, 583, ll. 4-9—end of fourth; *ibid.*, 847, ll. 27-29—ca. 215/4; *ibid.*, 956, ll. 20-22-161/0; *ibid.*, 958, ll. 16-18—ca. 155/4; *ibid.*, 971, ll. 23-25-140/39; *ibid.*, 991, l. 12—after mid second; *ibid.*, 840, ll. 24-27—end second; *ibid.*, 1013, ll. 52, 53, and *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 128, no. 27, l. 4—end second; (Plutarch), *Lives of the Ten Orators (Lycurgus)*, 841; Athenaeus, *op. cit.*, V, 214 E; *ibid.*, IX, 407 B, C; Diogenes Laertius, II, 40; *ibid.*, X, 16, 17. For the probable archives rooms in the Metroum, cf. p. 176.

for official Athenian documents. The Emperor Julian, writing in the second half of the fourth century A. D., uses the past tense in so referring to the Metroum,<sup>155</sup> and it is quite possible that the intervening sack of the Heruli had destroyed it and its contents.

The documents in the Metroum were also of a public nature, although in the later period documents stored there are not always quite so closely connected with the council and its purely political business. They comprise affidavits of witnesses, decrees honoring public servants, laws concerning debt, decrees granting equal taxation, names of those earning money on state projects and how much they earned, accounts concerned with the offerings at Eleusis, accounts of public games, decrees conferring citizenship, a decree in connection with weights and measures, an inventory of votive objects in chapels, copies of ancient laws and plays, indictments, procedure at a trial, and wills of private individuals. The designations are "in the Metroum" (ἐν τῷ Μητρόφῳ) or "at the Metroum" (εἰς το Μητρόφον), and once the expression "stored beside the goddess" (παρὰ τῇ θεῇ κειμένη) is found. The public slave (ὁ δημόσιος) is often mentioned in connection with the documents in the Metroum, and apparently he was responsible for keeping them in order and producing any given document when it was needed.

Thompson believes that the change from Bouleuterion to Metroum to designate the state archives came at the end of the fifth century B. C. It was about this time that the New Bouleuterion was built, and it seems that the Old Bouleuterion continued to stand and probably housed the statue of the Mother, made by Agoracritus (?) in the same general period. He refers to a decree granting immunity to Andocides, which was still "in the Bouleuterion" in 411 B. C.,<sup>156</sup> as the latest of the series with this designation, and he accepts Athenaeus' statement that in 405 B. C. Alcibiades walked into the Metroum and wiped off an indictment against a foreigner.<sup>157</sup>

<sup>155</sup> *Oration V (Hymn to the Mother of the Gods)*, 159, A, B.

<sup>156</sup> *On the Mysteries*, 23.

<sup>157</sup> *Op. cit.*, IX, 407, B, C.

This seems to mean that by the end of the fifth century the Metroum was housing state documents. He assumes that the name "bouleuterion" would have been at once transferred to the new building and that the old one would almost immediately have acquired the name "Metroum."

If the change in terminology had taken place in connection with the archives at the same time as the New Bouleuterion was erected (*ca.* the last quarter of the fifth century), the explanation would be comparatively simple. But the decree granting immunity to Andocides is not the latest of the series so designated. Aeschines, in a speech delivered in 343 B. C., says:

And give us to read the senatorial decrees concerning them from the records in the senate-house [*ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου*].<sup>158</sup>

Further on in the same speech, he seems to speak of the Bouleuterion as synonymous with the repository of state documents,<sup>159</sup> and Demosthenes, speaking in 342 B. C., mentions a letter written by Philip to the Athenians, "which is now in the Bouleuterion" (*ἥ ἐστι νῦν ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ*).<sup>160</sup> Nor is it at all certain that the Metroum as such was used for the storing of documents as early as 405 B. C. The sole authority for this is the above-mentioned passage in Athenaeus, quoted from Chamaeleon of Pontus. But Chamaeleon was writing at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third centuries B. C., and Athenaeus some six centuries later; either might easily have been guilty of an anachronism. At any rate, the passage is rather tenuous evidence on which to base a conclusion for which there is no confirmation until some sixty years later.<sup>161</sup>

The best evidence indicates that the confusion in terminology occurred about the middle of the fourth century B. C.

<sup>158</sup> *On the False Embassy*, 59.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, 89, 92.

<sup>160</sup> *On Halonessus*, 33.

<sup>161</sup> Kahrstedt (*op. cit.*, pp. 25, 26) asserts that this passage has nothing to do with the archives, but that it was an action going on before the council and not a closed process.

In 343 Demosthenes speaks of documents in the Metroum, while Aeschines mentions them in the Bouleuterion, and in 342 Demosthenes says a document is in the Bouleuterion. In 330 Lycurgus speaks of a stele stored in the Bouleuterion,<sup>182</sup> while Aeschines refers to a document "in the Metroum, beside [παρά] the Bouleuterion."<sup>183</sup> This confusion is echoed in late authors, who recount that the Athenians killed the Phrygian priest of the Mother and later, at the bidding of the Delphic priestess, built a temple for her in propitiation. This temple is called in one case "the Metroum," in another "a part of the Bouleuterion," and in still another "the Bouleuterion."<sup>184</sup>

An explanation which would reconcile the archaeological with the literary and epigraphical evidence may be suggested. In the first place, it is very unlikely that the New Bouleuterion ever housed the archives—even a part of them. It was, in fact, scarcely adequate for the accommodation of the councillors and of the outsiders who are known to have attended some of its sessions. The general limits set by the excavator for the various periods of the buildings in the Bouleuterion-Metroum complex may be accepted without reserve, and the individual identifications seem to be the logical ones. Hence, documents specified as being "in the Bouleuterion" in the third quarter of the fifth century B. C. were certainly stored in the Old Bouleuterion, for the New Bouleuterion was not erected before the last quarter of the century. The explanation may be that, since the new building was not adequate to house them, the state archives remained in the original building, where they would have been handy enough for ready reference. Perhaps before the end of the century a "part of the Bouleuterion," i. e. of the older one, was converted into a sanctuary to house the new statue of the Mother. But the

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<sup>182</sup> *Against Leocrates*, 124.

<sup>183</sup> *Against Otesiphon*, 187. Editors have mistakenly deleted this last phrase.

<sup>184</sup> (Plutarch), *Lycurgus*, 842 F; scholia on Aeschines, *Against Otesiphon*, 187; Julian, *op. cit.*, 160, A, B; Suidas, *s. v.* "Μητροπόλης."

time-honored name for the building would not necessarily have been changed at once. It may well have remained "the Bouleuterion" *par excellence* in spite of the new meeting place beside it. As the cult of the Mother increased in popularity in the early fourth century, the old building came more and more to be called her temple, the Metroum, while the new building alongside was being called "the Bouleuterion," so that by the middle of the century there was serious confusion. This is reflected in contemporaneous literature, as well as in later authors who had access to many documents of the period, which are now lost. In a few years the logical result was that "Metroum" became the universal designation of the older building, and that the name "Bouleuterion" thereafter usually referred to the new one.

The series of stone stelae which were to be set up "in front of the Bouleuterion" or "near the Bouleuterion" seems to provide evidence that the older building could still be officially designated as "the Bouleuterion" at the end of the fourth century B. C. These documents range in date from 399 to 304/3 B. C. and were almost certainly set up all in the same place. Chronologically, either the old or the new building could conceivably be meant, for the New Bouleuterion was completed by the early fourth century, and the older building was referred to as "the Bouleuterion" at least as late as 300 B. C. But the older building has much more to recommend it. Stelae set in the open space in front of the New Bouleuterion would have been seen by comparatively few, in comparison with the crowds in the Agora who would pass right by the east side of the older building. Moreover, Aristotle mentions a bronze stele which stood "in front of the Bouleuterion beside the statues of the eponymous heroes."<sup>165</sup> These statues seem to have stood in the Agora immediately opposite (east of) the Metroum. Hence, it appears that this series of stelae was set up in front of the older building and that the original name for the building persisted in this official formula somewhat longer than in more popular usage.

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<sup>165</sup> *Op. cit.*, 53, 4.



B. *The Extant Meeting Places*<sup>166</sup>(a) *Aegae in Aeolis*.<sup>167</sup>

*Situation.* This building lies next to the Agora and just north of the great market building, from which it is separated only by a street leading in from the northern part of the city.

*Description.* The straight east side measures *ca.* 18 m. in length, and the whole building was probably square in plan.<sup>168</sup> The entrance was doubtless from the south, since a terrace wall was needed to support the foundations at the east, and the other two sides are remote from the Agora.

*Identification.* A complete dedication inscribed on the architrave of the building has been recovered. It reads:

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<sup>166</sup> The mass of published material on the various excavated buildings which have been identified, either certainly or tentatively, as boulcuteria is so great that it is difficult to treat it concisely. A catalogue in which these buildings are arranged in the alphabetical order of the cities where they are located will perhaps make it most easily accessible. Chapter VII contains a detailed comparative treatment. The discussion of each building has been arranged under four subheadings: situation, description, identification, date. It has sometimes been necessary, for reasons of clarity, to reverse the order of the last two headings. The sections on description have been condensed so far as is compatible with clearness, and constant reference will have to be made to the accompanying plans and photographs. An exhaustive account of the individual buildings is impossible here, but reference has always been given to such studies, if they exist. Distinction has not always been made in the text between those details which have been previously published and those which are the results of the present writer's study. In the sections on identification, the arguments of the excavators have been stated but have not usually been discussed thoroughly; for a detailed comparative treatment and a final judgment, where such is possible, Chapter VII and the table (pp. 286-289) must be consulted.

<sup>167</sup> Bohn und Schuchhardt, *Altetümer von Aegae, Jahrbuch*, Supplement II, 1889, pp. 33-35, Plan III.

<sup>168</sup> The line of the west wall is not marked on the plan, as large fallen stones overlies it. Hence, it is impossible to fix the exact length of the north and south walls. Parallel lines along the south wall on the plan probably indicate the existence of steps.

Antiphanes, son of Apollonides, to Zeus Boulaeus, Hestia Boulaea, and the Demus ('Αντιφάνης Ἀπολλωνίδα Διὶ Βουλαιῶ καὶ Ἑστία Βουλαιᾷ καὶ τῷ δάμῳ).

Ordinarily, Hestia was not worshipped in temples, and when her cult is found associated with a public building it should be either a bouleuterion or a prytaneum. Since the dedication to Zeus comes first and since both deities were worshipped in the Bouleuterion at Athens and are connected with the council in other cities, it is very likely that this was the Bouleuterion of Aegae.<sup>169</sup>

*Date.* The dedicatory inscription is dated by its letter forms at least as late as the first century A. D., and this is the general period for the erection of the other public buildings on the site.

(b) *Apollonia in Illyria.*<sup>170</sup>

*Situation.* This building is located near a large portico and among the public monuments of the city. No comprehensive plan of the site has as yet appeared.

*Description.* It is 19.50 m. long and 15 m. wide. At the front are three steps leading up to a porch, the roof of which was supported by Ionic columns. In the interior is a vestibule extending entirely across the building. Behind this is the auditorium proper, which has an "orchestra" ca. 6 m. in diameter. The tiers of seats were apparently supported by an arched corridor built of masonry with brick revetment. It formed an arc of a circle and led to two small rooms at the back and under the auditorium. Many fragments of the epistyle were found in front of the porch, including part of an inscription which decorated the front of the building.

*Identification.* The excavator concludes, from an examination of the content of the inscription and from the plan of the

<sup>169</sup> Cf. pp. 132, 279-282.

<sup>170</sup> Rey, *B. C. H.*, LV, 1931, pp. 485, 486. This is simply a preliminary report. I can find no publication of the inscription mentioned below.

building, that it was either an ecclesiasterion, bouleuterion, or choregic monument. The last supposition is a rather improbable one. It was apparently an auditorium without a stage, and its relatively small size would make likely the suggestion that it was a bouleuterion.

*Date.* The material and building technique show that it was constructed at the beginning of the Imperial period, i. e. late first century B. C. or first century A. D.<sup>171</sup>

(c) *Assos*.<sup>172</sup> (Plate V)

*Situation.* The building in question borders the northern part of the east end of the Agora. Directly in front of it in the open square is a platform which has been identified as a bema.<sup>173</sup> A street lying immediately south of this building leads into the Agora. The northern side of this street is lined with stele beddings. South of it there is a badly ruined building, perhaps a prison.<sup>174</sup>

*Description.* The outside walls, ca. 1 m. thick, form a square 20.59 m. x 20.62 m.<sup>175</sup> The entrance was from the

<sup>171</sup> A large building excavated at Ascalon in Palestine has been identified as a bouleuterion (*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly*, 1922/3, pp. 114, 115; *ibid.*, 1924/5, pp. 24-35, Pl. II; Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas*, II, pp. 95 ff.). It consists of an apsidal auditorium furnished with rows of curving seats, a small flanking room on either side, and in front a great open peristyle court of the Corinthian order. The court has been identified with Herod's cloister, mentioned by Josephus (*Jewish War*, I, 422). The form of the auditorium and the finding in it of two inscribed decrees of the council have caused the whole building to be designated as a bouleuterion. It was originally dated in the first century B. C. but is now believed to belong in the period of the Antonines, i. e. second century A. D. The excavators compare it with two other constructions at Gerasa and Samaria. All three, however, are apparently late and seem too far afield to be discussed in greater detail in this study.

<sup>172</sup> Clarke, Bacon, and Koldewey, *Investigations at Assos* (Boston, 1902), pp. 7, 21, 23, 25, 27, 55, 57, 59.

<sup>173</sup> Cf. pp. 85, 86.

<sup>174</sup> Cf. pp. 250, 253.

<sup>175</sup> Very little information is given in the text, but the plans and

Agora on the west and consisted of six doors separated by five unfluted monolithic columns. The northernmost of these columns is standing and measures 4.82 m. in height. The two central intercolumniations are 2.43 m. wide, while the outer ones are only 2.05 m. The column in situ shows cuttings for an upper and a lower metal grille, which probably indicates that only the two central openings were actually used as entrances.<sup>176</sup> The whole series of openings is placed asymmetrically with relation to the west wall, the solid wall at the north being 4.57 m. in length, while that at the south is only 2.23 m. The explanation may be that, since the great Stoa which runs along the north side of the Agora cut off the view of the northern edge of this building from people in the center of the Agora, the entrance system was set symmetrically with what could be seen of the western façade.

Extending along the front (west) of the building is a level platform *ca.* 7.50 m. wide. At its northern end is a stairway which led up to the second story of the nearby Stoa. Fragments of a Doric triglyph frieze and small mutules without guttae, as well as of a plain Ionic epistyle, were found in and around the building. The excavators believe that the Doric order is to be restored on the west and south sides which could be seen from the Agora, and the Ionic on the less important north and east sides.

In the interior, the bases of three columns are preserved. They are *ca.* 1 m. square and are set symmetrically, with an axial distance *ca.* 6 m. from each other and from the outside walls. Their arrangement proves that there was originally a fourth column in the southeast section of the interior. The lowest drums of the northern two supports are apparently in situ and measure *ca.* 0.75 m. in diameter.<sup>177</sup>

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detail drawings are abundant and accurate. Hence, certain dimensions and other details can be gathered from them.

<sup>176</sup> Rough cuttings for a doorway are also visible on the standing column but are thought by the excavators to be later. At that time there seem to have been doors in all the openings.

<sup>177</sup> Along the north wall near the east end is a "pedestal" *ca.*

*Identification.* The excavators identified this building as a bouleuterion because of its position bordering on the Agora and because of the discovery near it of many inscriptions of a political nature.<sup>178</sup> These arguments are useful confirmatory indications, and the plan itself makes this identification still more probable.<sup>179</sup>

*Date.* No mention of date is made in the publication, but the carefully drawn profiles of two mouldings make it possible to fix the general limits. The cyma reversa of the upper moulding of the interior epistyle is best paralleled by two examples from Pergamum, probably dating 197-159 B. C.,<sup>180</sup> and the cyma recta of the sima is much like two others from Pergamum, the one dating to the same period as the above, the other to the third quarter of the second century B. C.<sup>181</sup> Thus, the building may be assigned to the second century B. C., and probably to its first half. Assos was prosperous at that time owing to her association with Pergamum.

(d) *Athens*.<sup>182</sup> (Plates III, IV, XIX)

*Situation.* In the area in question are the remains of several buildings of different periods which must be studied as a group. This complex borders the west side of the Agora, immediately to the north and northwest of the building certainly identified as the Tholus, and south of the Stoa of Zeus

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1 m. x 2 m. and apparently quite low. The building was re-used in mediæval times, and corner buttresses were then added. Perhaps the pedestal belongs also to this period.

<sup>178</sup> These are copies of regular decrees passed by the council and the assembly. They were found near the row of stele cuttings on the north side of the road and just south of this building.

<sup>179</sup> Cf. pp. 267, 268.

<sup>180</sup> Cf. Shoe, *Greek Mouldings*, Pl. XXVII, 25, 26.


<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. XLVI, 12, 13.

<sup>182</sup> For reports of the earlier excavation on the site, cf. *A.M.*, XXI, 1896, pp. 107-109; *Praktika*, 1907/8, pp. 54-56; for the recent excavations, Shear, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 349, 350; Stillwell, *ibid.*, II, 1933, pp. 131-137; Thompson, *ibid.*, VI, 1937, pp. 115-172, 267-217.

and the small temple of Apollo Patrous. Immediately to the west rises the Colonus Agoraeus.

*Description.*

(1) Primitive Bouleuterion.<sup>183</sup> The foundations of a complex, measuring 6.70 m. x 15.00 m. over-all and consisting of two rooms of unequal size facing south on a courtyard or terrace and perhaps three more of slightly later date facing north on the same court, have been discovered beneath the Old Bouleuterion and the Hellenistic Metroum. The walls were built in rude polygonal style. This building is too unsuitable in plan and dimensions to have accommodated the formal meetings of the council, and Thompson suggests, with all due reservations, that it formed the official headquarters, and that an extensive semicircular cutting in the Colonus just to the west may have been used as an open-air auditorium at this period.

(2) Old Bouleuterion. The outer walls of this building form a square 23.80 m. x 23.30 m. Many sections are directly overlaid by those of the Hellenistic Metroum, but these can be distinguished and, along with sections not covered by the later building, make clear the original ground plan. There is a continuous bedding and a few blocks preserved in situ of an east-west interior crosswall *ca.* 6.20 m. from the outside south wall. In the larger rectangular room north of this partition, bases for three interior roof supports have been found.<sup>184</sup> They suggest an arrangement of five supports in a  shape, opening toward the south, with three columns on the north and two on the east and west, counting the corner ones twice.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> Thompson, *ibid.*, Supplement IV, 1940, pp. 8-15.

<sup>184</sup> The north central, west side, and a fragment of the northwest corner bases.

<sup>185</sup> There is a striking lack of unity in the material and workmanship in the building. The material is mostly re-used and laid in haphazard fashion, while dimensions of bases etc. vary. However, the whole arrangement apparently belongs to one period. The

The partition divides the building into a large forehall and a main room behind, making it probable that the whole construction faced south. The finding of a hard-packed earth floor at the south makes this orientation even more likely. There are no traces of doorways.<sup>180</sup> The original outside ground level was *ca.* 0.50 m. below that of the interior of the building, so that there must have been two steps upward at the doorways, but the level outside gradually rose until it was *ca.* 0.50 m. above that of the interior.

The absence of any trace of beddings within the large room suggests that, if this was an auditorium, the seats were of wood rather than stone. This, together with the probable arrangement of the interior supports, suggests that seats may best be restored on a rectilinear plan. It might have held *ca.* seven hundred persons. Four blocks in a diagonal line east of the propylon of the New Bouleuterion have sinkings in their top surfaces with marks of poured lead to hold posts. These may have supported a railing and gates, by which admission to this building could be controlled.

(3) New Bouleuterion. This is a rectangular building measuring 22.50 m. north-south x 16.90 m. east-west, exclusive of the later south porch. It is directly west of and very near the Old Bouleuterion, but at a considerably higher level. Communication with the Agora to the east was established by a stairway 10.50 m. wide along the south wall. Practically the entire area of the building, including passages at the north and west and a large open section at the south, was cut from the soft rock of the Colonus Hill. At the foot of the scarp on the west a broad bench of rock was left.

There are some indications of the interior arrangement. In the western part two square beddings are cut in the rock. They

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discussion of a few blocks which may possibly belong to the superstructure has been deferred until the final publication.

<sup>180</sup> Thompson believes that there may have been doors in the short east and west ends of the forehall and thinks that this might account for the cutting away of a mass of rock at the southwest corner of the building.

apparently mark the position of interior roof supports and are symmetrically placed 6.04 m. apart, 7.04 m. from the outer north and south walls, and 2.30 m. from the outer west wall. There is also evidence for a corresponding pair of supports placed symmetrically at an equal distance from the outer east wall. The position of that at the southeast is fixed by a massive pier still standing to a height of four courses, and that at the northeast by a single block in position. Between these and the east outside wall there are blocks of an interior foundation.<sup>187</sup>

The dressed bed-rock in the interior of the building inclines from every side to a point in the mideastern part. Thus, the whole structure is symmetrical only toward the east, and the auditorium is presumed to have faced in that direction. The narrow section east of the bases would correspond to the *parodoi* in a theater, and there would have been entrances in the northeast and southeast corners. The original seating arrangement is thought to have been of wood and laid out on a rectilinear plan.<sup>188</sup> Fragments of unfluted column drums of Pentelic marble *ca.* 0.62 m. in diameter were found in the building by earlier excavators and may have belonged to the interior roof supports. A piece of a horizontal Ionic cornice block probably belongs to the superstructure. It is likely that the whole building was of the Ionic order, as were the later porch and propylon.

For the foundation of the west end of the porch, the unused southern end of the foundation trench for the west wall of the original building was utilized, while the east end of the porch

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<sup>187</sup> It seems to be unnecessarily wide for a wall foundation (*ca.* 2.30 m.). Cf. the reconstruction proposed on pp. 134, 135 and Plate XVIII.

<sup>188</sup> The pottery on the surface of the dressed bed-rock proves that before the period of reconstruction there was no fill to carry stone seats. The reconstruction on Plate XVIII is based on literary evidence for the Bouleuterion in the fifth century B. C., and it must be remembered that at that time the orchestra outline was probably rectilinear—but its exact form is not known, and the later curving outline has been retained in the drawing.



cut into the earlier stairway. The porch is restored with a colonnade of seven Ionic columns along the south, a single column on the eastern return, and a solid wall at the west. Thompson has associated with this colonnade a stylobate block showing setting lines for an Ionic column base with a diameter of *ca.* 0.856 m. The block also shows a cutting for a post, which would indicate that some of the intercolumniations were closed with grilles. At the same time as the porch, a propylon was built at the southeast corner of the Old Bouleuterion in the line of circulation from the Agora to the New Bouleuterion. It was of the Ionic order, tetrastyle prostyle at the east and distyle *in antis* at the west. The southern wall of the propylon was continued west almost to the stairway in a line parallel with the south wall of the Old Bouleuterion. Somewhat later, the area south of the New Bouleuterion was improved in appearance with a screen wall hiding the rock scarp.

A number of curved stone benches have been localized in this vicinity and indicate that at some later period the auditorium was provided with stone seats in a curved scheme. The actual seat width in these is *ca.* 0.32 m., and the part providing room for the feet of those in the row above was apparently cut in a separate block. All of these blocks show traces of iron pins which held in place a thin veneer of marble. A marble bench, re-used as a cover for the great drain opposite the temple of Apollo Patrous, appears to have been the front seat in an auditorium, and the New Bouleuterion is the most suitable building with which to associate it. It would fix the radius of the "orchestra" at 2.64 m. A few poros blocks found nearby may have supported the topmost row of seats; one has a rabbet in its back surface, probably to receive the stone flagging of the floor in the corners at the back of the auditorium. It is calculated that there would have been room for twelve benches, restored on the basis of these indications, and the building could have accommodated a maximum of five hundred persons. At a relatively late date a door seems to have been cut in the center of the east wall of the building,

thus effecting a monumental entrance from the Agora through the second room from the south of the Hellenistic Metroon. This room was of temple plan, with a porch distyle *in antis* and a rear room of rectangular shape.

*Date.* Ceramic evidence dates the Primitive Bouleuterion in the first quarter of the sixth century B. C. The construction of the Old Bouleuterion involved the destruction of a polygonal terrace wall which was apparently not built until the third quarter of the sixth century. Also, the building is later than the great drain (dated with some probability in 527-510), since its foundations were set in a fill contemporaneous with the drain. Hence, it may be dated close to the end of the sixth century. There is no evidence of its being destroyed in 480/79. If it was damaged by the Persians, it was soon repaired.

In the New Bouleuterion, the building material and technique find close parallels in buildings of the last quarter of the fifth century B. C. But a serious fire in the Tholos about the end of the fifth century may mean that the Old Bouleuterion was also damaged and that the New Bouleuterion was built after this date. The south porch is a later addition, as is proved by the unsatisfactory junctions of its short side walls with the east and west walls of the Bouleuterion, the way it breaks into the line of the old stairway, the use of conglomerate stone, and the inferior workmanship. Also, there is more wear on bed-rock in this area than in that inside the building. The pottery proves that it, along with the propylon, dates to about the turn of the fourth and third centuries B. C. The building was apparently damaged in Sulla's capture of Athens in 86 B. C. and again by the Herulians in the third century A. D., but even after that it was reconstructed, at least in part.

*Identification.* The second century B. C. complex of four rooms facing east on the Agora and fronted by a long colonnade has been convincingly identified as the Metroon, the

temple of Cybele the Mother.<sup>180</sup> The Tholus is certainly the round building discovered immediately to the south of the complex in question, and the small temple to the north is apparently that of Apollo Patrous. Pausanias, as he proceeds southward along the west side of the Agora, mentions in order the temple of Apollo Patrous, the Metroum, the Bouleuterion, and the Tholus.<sup>190</sup> Since the other three are satisfactorily identified, and the only other suitable building in the neighborhood is that immediately to the west of the Metroum, this must be the Bouleuterion. Further, there is in literary tradition a very close connection between the Metroum and the Bouleuterion, and it is implied that they were close to one another. This agrees exactly with the Metroum and the building immediately to the west. Also, the finding of curved seat blocks in and around it and the arrangement of the interior supports would substantiate its identification as the Bouleuterion.<sup>191</sup>

It is likely that the two rooms of the Metroum on either side of the monumental entrance housed the archives, which are known to have been stored in the Metroum.<sup>192</sup> Since there was certainly a bouleuterion in Athens before the third quarter of the fifth century B. C., one would look for it in the vicinity of the later building, and the "Old Bouleuterion" under the Hellenistic Metroum is the obvious candidate in plan and posi-

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<sup>180</sup> Inscribed roof tiles marked as sacred to the Mother have been found near the east, north, and south sides. Further, in 1907 an inscribed stele (*I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 140) was found there, on which were recorded certain provisions having to do with the Eleusinian rites and containing the specification that "the law be inscribed beside the earlier one of Chaeremonides on the stele in front of the Metroum." Here, too, was found the base of a statue of a priest of the Mother (*Arch. Eph.*, 1910, pp. 16-18). Finally, there was found in 1935, deep down in the southeast corner of the third room from the south, a fragmentary marble plaque with the dedication, "Criton, to the Mother of the Gods." None of these inscriptions were found strictly in situ, but it is incredible that all should have been found in a building other than the Metroum.

<sup>180</sup> I, 3, 4 and 5.

<sup>191</sup> Cf. pp. 267, 268.

<sup>192</sup> Cf. pp. 161-165.

tion. The building designated as the Primitive Bouleuterion was the first public building on the site and would logically have served a similar purpose. It would scarcely have accommodated the formal meetings of the council but may well have served as their headquarters.

Picard has recently attempted to reverse these identifications, calling the western building the Metroum, the three southern rooms of the east complex the Bouleuterion, and the larger northern room the Prytaneum.<sup>103</sup> He argues that Metroum always means a temple, and, since the only temple-like building in this group is the western one, it must be the temple of the Mother. He sees a connection in its construction in the third quarter of the fifth century B. C. with the introduction into Athens of the cult of the Mother at *ca.* 430 B. C. It would not appear, he says, that the porch is later than the rest of the building. He objects to the restoration in the western building of a hypothetical semicircular seating arrangement on the analogy of Hellenistic monuments such as the Bouleuterion at Miletus. The bouleuteria of Greece, he says, had quite different plans, as those at Olympia, Delphi, and Corinth. They were rectangular rooms, sometimes a complex of two or three, sometimes with apses. It would therefore be better, he continues, to identify the three south rooms of the east complex as the Bouleuterion. There are certain notable resemblances in this plan with the Bouleuterion at Olympia. There were at Olympia, too, three contiguous rectangular rooms (cf. the Bouleuteria at Delphi and Megalopolis) which were joined at the front by a portico. The western building at Athens could not have accommodated the five hundred councillors, and paintings, such as those described by Pausanias as being in the Bouleuterion, are impossible in a room with tiers of seats.

Picard's thesis is quite impossible from first to last. The epigraphical evidence for the identification of the east complex as the Metroum is incontrovertible. Moreover, there is

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<sup>103</sup> *R. A.*, XII, 1938, pp. 97-101. Cf. refutation in *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, pp. 149, 150.

no doubt that the western building was for at least a century without the south porch and in no way resembled a temple in plan.<sup>194</sup> On the other hand, the indications of its interior arrangements do resemble the plan of several known bouleuteria.<sup>195</sup> It is plainly stated by Thompson that the curved stone seats did not belong to the original arrangement of the building, but were at least as late as the beginning of the third century B. C. There is nothing impossible about a building at Athens with such a seating arrangement at that period. Rather, it is the complex of the three south rooms of the east group which forms a very unlikely plan for a bouleuterion. If Picard finds difficulty in believing that the western building could have accommodated the Athenian council, in what more spacious place would he propose to have them assemble in his candidate?<sup>196</sup> The resemblance in plan of these three rooms to the Bouleuterion at Olympia is quite superficial. Furthermore, the Olympia complex is almost unique in plan among Greek bouleuteria and cannot be selected as the norm.<sup>197</sup> There is absolutely no reason for citing bouleuteria such as those at Delphi, Megalopolis, and Corinth in support of his thesis; the first two resemble the

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<sup>194</sup> If he must have a temple-like plan, why not fix on the second room from the south in the east complex? It would have done quite well before the door was cut through the rear wall.

<sup>195</sup> Cf. pp. 267, 268.

<sup>196</sup> The western building does seem to be somewhat small (cf. crowds in the Bouleuterion implied in Demosthenes, *On the False Embassy*, 18; Aeschines, *Against Ctesiphon*, 125). Also, there is the problem of the temporary increase of the council to six hundred in 307 B. C. On the other hand, Demosthenes (*Against Androtion*, 36) says that Androtion, although a member of the council, perhaps did not even go to the Bouleuterion most of the time. There is good reason for believing that it was very seldom that the council was fully represented, and on such occasions they would have had to crowd closely together. A modern parallel might be mentioned in the case of the Parliament Buildings in London, where the assembly hall of the House of Commons could not accommodate a session at which every member was present.

<sup>197</sup> Cf. pp. 270-272.

ground plan of the western building more than the substitute which he proposes, and the plan of the Corinth building is unique. The paintings which Pausanias describes could quite well have been contained in the western building on the east wall, on the sections just west of the doors on the north and south walls, and in the porch.<sup>198</sup>

(e) *Calauria*.<sup>199</sup> (Plate X)

*Situation.* The building in question formed the western border of the Agora of this little town. Just to the north of it was a propylon which led to the famous sanctuary of Poseidon.

*Description.* It is a building of stoa form with a wing

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<sup>198</sup> Other arguments which Picard advances are: that the open area in front (south) of the western building would accommodate the stelae comprising the archives which are known to have been in the Metroum, and there are on this terrace the remains of an altar more necessary to the cult of the Mother than to a bouleuterion; that the reconstructed position of the doors in the western building is strange; that in his candidate for the Bouleuterion there would have been the altar of Hestia Boulaea in the center, as that of Zeus at Olympia, which would have no place in the western building; that, as Zeus Boulaeus was associated, one would expect separate rooms, as in the Erechtheum; and that there is no room in the western building for the inscriptions and statues which are known to have been in the Bouleuterion.

To these it may be answered: that there are no signs of a large number of stelae having been set in the open area south of the west building, while they were numerous in front (east) of the east complex; that there are no clear remains of an altar; that the position of the doors in the western building is strange, but was necessary because of the way it was wedged in between the Old Bouleuterion and the scarp, and because of the orientation of the building; that the altar of Hestia Boulaea would have stood in the orchestra of the western building; and that the statues mentioned could have stood in the parodoi and in the porch of the western building.

<sup>199</sup> Wide and Kjellberg, *A. M.*, XX, 1895, pp. 281-289. The evidence has been discussed with Dr. G. Welter, who is republishing these buildings. Unfortunately, the building identified as the Bouleuterion is in part built over by a modern house and cannot be satisfactorily studied without its removal.

projecting *ca.* 3 m. at either end. These wings are 8.20 m. wide and are divided into three parts of approximately equal size. The eastern part is open at the front, the other two are closed. Between these wings there is left a room *ca.* 32 m. north-south and 8 m. east-west. It had a solid back wall, a row of five free-standing columns on its long axis, and at the front a row of more closely spaced columns. In the front of the north wing the steps and part of the stylobate with traces of columns are preserved, and on this basis eleven columns between antae are restored along the front of the main room, and four columns prostyle for each of the wings. The intercolumniation of the interior row is *ca.* 4.85 m. at either end and *ca.* 5.60 m. for the four intermediate spaces. Various statue bases and stele beddings were found in front of the building, especially near the north wing.

*Identification.* In Stoa C, situated near the temple of Poseidon, an inscription of the beginning of the third century B. C. was found. In it there is a provision that a blameless sacrifice be offered to Poseidon and Zeus Soter, after an altar has been established in front of their statues "near [ $\tau\omicron\iota$  =  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ ] the Bouleuterion."<sup>200</sup> The argument of the excavators for the association of the above-described building with the Bouleuterion mentioned in this inscription is that around it were found bases for such statues and for stelae,<sup>201</sup> while such were conspicuous by their absence in all the other public buildings nearby. Dörpfeld also called attention to the similarity of the plan of this building with that of the Bouleuterion at Mantinea.<sup>202</sup>

*Date.* No criteria for the dating of the building are recorded. Dr. Welter has examined the four nearby stoas and the propylon and concludes that they belong to the fourth and third centuries B. C. Under them and under this build-

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<sup>200</sup> *I. G.*, IV, 841, ll. 21-24.

<sup>201</sup> A couple of honorary inscriptions still lie in the immediate vicinity.

<sup>202</sup> Cf. pp. 256, 257.

ing were discovered earlier foundations, built of smaller stones and oriented quite differently. Presumably, they were all destroyed at the same time, and this new structure was part of the fourth and third century building program. The inscription no doubt refers to the new building, which may therefore be inferred to have been completed by the beginning of the third century B. C.



Fig. 11. Curia, Corinth, from northwest.

(f) *Corinth*.<sup>203</sup> (Plate VIII, Fig. 11)

*Situation.* This building was erected on the foundations of three shops and their respective store-rooms which had formed part of the great South Stoa. It faces north on the Agora, and on either side of it are buildings of a civic character. A street ran past its west side and led into the Agora.

*Description.* It consists essentially of a horseshoe shaped main room and a narrow vestibule. The large room is *ca.* 13.5 m. x 12 m. in greatest dimensions, and the vestibule is

<sup>203</sup> *A. J. A.*, XL, 1936, pp. 479, 480.



*ca.* 12 m. x 3 m. The north wall of the vestibule rests on the original north wall of the Stoa, but it is so badly destroyed that it cannot now be ascertained whether one or more doors gave access from the Agora. The long north and south walls of the vestibule are straight, but the short end walls are curved. Access from it to the main room was provided by a single wide door between antae. The back and side walls of the larger room curve gradually until near the north end, where they straighten out for *ca.* 1.50 m. Several seat blocks found in the building conform to the curve of the walls, and it is certain that there was at least one row of seats set against the wall. Cuttings in these show that they were provided with arm rests. Marks at various places in the inside of the building prove that the architect calculated with extraordinary care the curves and arcs which give the building its unusual shape.

*Identification.* The facts that it faces the Agora and is surrounded by civic buildings and that it was obviously a small auditorium suggest that this was the Senate House or Curia of Roman Corinth.

*Date.* It is assigned to early Imperial times, along with the whole plan of rebuilding on the foundation of the South Stoa.

(g) *Delos*.<sup>204</sup> (Plate IX, Fig. 12)

*Situation.* This building lies within the precinct of Apollo, with the temple of Apollo to the west and the Hall of the Bulls to the east. Adjoining it on the south lies the Prytaneum.

*Description.* It is rectangular in shape, *ca.* 21.90 m. north-south and 6.90 m. east-west. The walls are of rather careful construction and are preserved to a maximum height of *ca.* 1.69 m. In the west outside wall two threshold blocks are in situ. One is *ca.* 5.70 m. from the south end and has

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<sup>204</sup> This building has not yet been finally published, and I can find no preliminary report of its excavation.

cuttings which show that it was closed by double doors, each *ca.* 0.74 m. wide. The other is *ca.* 8.80 m. from the north end, and apparently it also had double doors. *Ca.* 6.60 m. from the north outside wall is an east-west partition which divides the building into a small, almost square north room and a longer south room. This partition is preserved only in foundations, but it is of the same material as the outer walls and appears to be contemporaneous with them.

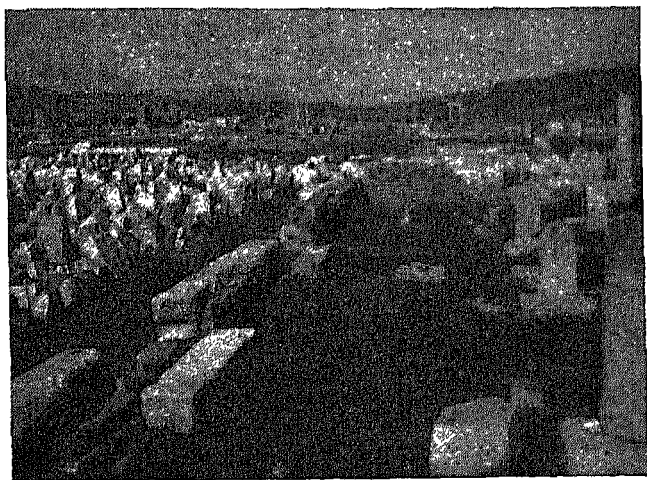


Fig 12. Bouleuterion, Delos, from south.

The larger room has a line of column bases set *ca.* 1.65 m. apart and approximately on its long (north-south) axis.<sup>205</sup> The northernmost is engaged in the partition wall, the next two are in place, the fourth is missing, the fifth is in place, and a gap of *ca.* 4.30 m. between it and the south wall provides room for another free-standing base and perhaps for a seventh engaged. The bases themselves are *ca.* 0.80 m. x 0.60 m. on their upper surface, and *ca.* 0.25 m. high. They

<sup>205</sup> They are *ca.* 2.25 m. from the east outside wall and 2.83 m. from the west.

are of roughly cut white marble, and in the upper face of each is a shallow rectangular cutting *ca.* 0.43 m. x 0.28 m. They have no trace of dowels but were obviously intended for pillars to support the roof, and three pillar drums have been set up on them.<sup>206</sup> Apparently they were rectangular at the base, but at a height of *ca.* 0.20 m. they changed to a curved, oblong shape.

Within the building there now lie some fragments of marble roof tiles and the base of a marble *loutron*. Just outside the northeast corner, a column is set up on a base which is bonded into the east wall. It carries a dedication to Athena Polias. A row of stelae lined the street to the east of the building, and the bases of six of them are still in situ.

*Date.* The wall construction resembles that of other Delian buildings dated to the end of the fifth or the fourth centuries B. C. It is described as a "monument archaïque."<sup>207</sup>

*Identification.* This building is identified as a bouleuterion (?) in the latest plan of the city.<sup>208</sup> The existence of a bouleuterion at Delos and its close connection with the storing of official documents is proved by a whole series of inscriptions.<sup>209</sup> The north room might have served for the archives, although it is somewhat small, and the south room has the plan of several buildings identified as bouleuteria. Its proximity to the temple of Apollo is a point in favor of this identification, since it is likely that documents relating to the sanctuary would be stored nearby. The numerous stelae which were set up around it also suggest such a use.

<sup>206</sup> Only one of these seems to fit the cutting on which it is set, but the others are badly battered.

<sup>207</sup> Hachette, *Grèce (Guide Bleu)*, 1935, p. 509.

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 512.

<sup>209</sup> Cf. p. 157.

(h) *Delphi*.<sup>210</sup> (Fig. 13)

*Situation.* This building lies on the northwestern side of the Sacred Way, between the Treasury of the Athenians to the southwest and the Sibyl's rock and the Portico of the Athenians to the northeast. It is not oriented with respect to any of the nearby buildings, and the northeast corner of the Treasury of the Athenians is close to its south side.



Fig. 13. Bouleuterion, Delphi, from east.

There was a narrow street along its north side, in addition to the Sacred Way at the east.

*Description.* It is rectangular in ground plan, *ca.* 13.30 m. north-south and 6.30 m. east-west. Most of the wall blocks are of soft brown poros laid without clamps or dowels. The blocks in the highest preserved course are now badly crumbled. The rather steep slope downward to the south and the more gradual one to the east necessitated deep founda-

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<sup>210</sup> Pomtow, *Delphica*, III, 1912; P. W., Supplement IV, pp. 1291, 1292; *B. C. H.*, XXXVI, 1912, p. 488; Weickert, *Typen der archaischen Architektur in Griechenland und Kleinasien*, p. 121.

tion walls on those sides, and there as many as nine courses are still preserved. The walls elsewhere are lower, and in the center of the north side there is a complete gap. The entrance must have been either in the north side, giving access from the side street, or else in the east, opening on the Sacred Way. Pomtow believes that the east side is ruled out, because four continuous wall courses are in situ there. However, the minimum height at which a level floor must be restored would have necessitated a wall of this height there, and a stairway may have led from the Sacred Way to a door at a slightly higher level. Moreover, it seems more probable that the Sacred Way would have been flanked by the main entrance, rather than by a blank wall.

The excavators believe it not unlikely that there was an arrangement of rising rows of seats in this building, for near the center of the interior a rough mass of rock now protrudes *ca.* 0.80 m. above the present floor level. There are other lower rock masses in the western part which suggest that the auditorium, if it sloped, faced the east. Thus, the existing slope could have been utilized, while, if the entrance were in the north, the auditorium would almost of necessity have faced north and the natural southward slope would have had to be reversed.<sup>211</sup>

*Identification.* This rests principally on the evidence of a passage in which Plutarch mentions "the rock opposite [κατά] the Bouleuterion, on which the first Sibyl is said to

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<sup>211</sup> There is preserved in the highest block at the center of the south wall a horizontal cutting *ca.* 0.18 m. high and sunk 0.25 m. into the wall. It is about the same height as the top of the rock mass. This might argue against a floor sloping either to the north or the east and would make a level floor more likely. However, it is not certain that this cutting had anything to do with support for the floor, and, even if it had, it would not rule out a sloping auditorium, since a level floor would likely have been continued under any sort of grandstand arrangement. In the building lies a triglyph block, and on the north wall there is a fluted column drum. Both are of brown poros, like the wall blocks of this edifice, and are perhaps to be associated with it.

have sat.”<sup>212</sup> The rock of the Sibyl is identified beyond doubt just to the northeast of the building under discussion, and it is the only construction which could have been referred to as “opposite” the rock.<sup>213</sup> The existence of a bouleuterion as early as 180 B. C. is proved by mention in inscriptions.<sup>214</sup> The number of councillors at Delphi was probably not much more than forty, and this meeting place would have been ample for such a body.

*Date.* The wall thickness of *ca.* 0.40 m. would suggest that the building was early. The primitive workmanship and peculiar material find a parallel in the Cnidian Treasury, and both must have been erected about the end of the sixth century B. C.<sup>215</sup>

(i) *Eleusis*.<sup>216</sup> (Plate VIII)

*Situation.* This building is constructed inside and directly against the south fortification wall attributed to Lycurgus. East of it there is a small enclosed space connected with the round corner tower and separating it from the eastern return of the great wall. On the west there is a passage leading to a gate in the middle of the south wall, and in the northwest corner of the building there is a slight jog in the wall to provide access to the square tower at that point. To the north is an open court, and beyond that the Periclean peribolus wall of the Telesterium.

*Description.* The complex forms a large rectangle *ca.* 34 m. east-west and 16 m. north-south. It is divided into

<sup>212</sup> *Concerning the Pythian Oracles*, 9 (*Moralia*, 398 C).

<sup>213</sup> The objections of Wilamowitz in this connection are satisfactorily met by Pomtow.

<sup>214</sup> Dittenberger, *op. cit.*, 614, l. 34, dated 180 B. C.; *ibid.*, 615, ll. 15-17, dated after 180 B. C. In both, the form *bouleion* = bouleuterion occurs.

<sup>215</sup> Dinsmoor, *B. C. H.*, XXXVI, 1912, p. 488.

<sup>216</sup> Phillos, *Praktika*, 1885, p. 29; *ibid.*, 1886, p. 50; *ibid.*, 1887, pp. 57, 58, note 1; Skias, *ibid.*, 1895, pp. 174-180, Pl. I; *ibid.*, 1896, pp. 27, 28.

three rooms by two interior north-south cross walls. The central room is *ca.* 3 m. wider than the outer ones. It has an apsidal wall at the back (south) and an east-west cross wall joining the ends of the arc of this curving wall. The excavator believed that there were no doors giving direct access from the court to the eastern and western rooms, and that they were entered only from the central one. *Ca.* 3.70 m. north of the front wall of the central room is a parallel wall, and the space between was paved with stone slabs. This formed a level platform, which probably indicates that there was a porch (πρόστας) there. It was certainly open, as is shown by the presence of part of a pilaster at the west end. Skias suggested the restoration of six small columns between parastades, with four others behind on the actual stylobate of the front wall, and perhaps four similar ones on the interior parallel wall. The northern edge of this interior cross wall is perfectly straight, while the southern edge is quite irregular. The failure to make an even edge at the south would indicate that this side of the wall was out of sight, and it might point to the existence of rising seats beginning there and extending back to the southern wall of the room. The blocks in the highest preserved course of the east and west walls of this room are cut down for *ca.* 0.15 m. from their top surface, and, if the cutting is original, this would indicate the floor level.<sup>217</sup> Two other buildings succeeded this on the same site in the Roman period.<sup>218</sup>

*Identification.* The only mention of a bouleuterion at Eleusis comes in the Athenian decree of *ca.* 220 A. D., which is concerned with the restoration of the mysteries to their

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<sup>217</sup> Here, as at Delphi, the indications of a level floor need not mean that there was not an arrangement of rising seats, with the level floor extending under them.

<sup>218</sup> A stoa with an interior row of free-standing columns rested in part on the same foundations. It had the same length, but it was *ca.* 4.50 m. narrower. Still later, a large exedra or odeum was built, using the length of only the central and western of the earliest

former magnificence.<sup>219</sup> One of the stelae on which it was inscribed was to be set up "in Eleusis, in the *hieron* in front of the Bouleuterion." The court in front of the building in question was within the *hieron*, and, topographically, the identification is quite possible. But there is a chronological difficulty which the excavators have not met. The building which Philios and Skias identify as the Bouleuterion is of Hellenistic date, while the inscription is from the third century A. D. In the interval, the Roman stoa must have replaced the Hellenistic building, and perhaps the great exedra is also to be dated before 220 A. D. It is possible that the name was retained for the place in spite of later buildings; or, more likely, the exedra in its time might have served for the meeting place of the council. There is mention in inscriptions of a council of the Eleusinian deme, and a building of this size could have accommodated it adequately.

*Date.* The building is dated in the time of the Macedonian supremacy. It is clearly later than the fourth century B. C. fortification wall which is associated with Lycurgus. The two later buildings are said to be of the Roman period, and no closer dating is attempted.

(j) *Eretria.*

Notice should be taken of a construction at Eretria, which is locally called a "bouleuterion."<sup>220</sup> It lies just northwest of the Theater, and is really a monumental entrance leading into the open area west of the Theater.

(k) *Gortyna.*<sup>221</sup>

The great importance of the law code of Gortyna lends spe-  
rooms and the same front line as the intermediate stoa. A few of the seat blocks are still in situ and appear to have been re-used.

<sup>219</sup> *I. G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1078, ll. 40-43.

<sup>220</sup> This misnomer is probably to be blamed on the Eretrian *phy-lax*, not on his superiors. For a synedrium cf. *Arch. Eph.*, 1897, p. 158.

<sup>221</sup> *Museo Italiano*, II, 1888, pp. 562-572; *Annuario della Regia Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, I, 1914, pp. 374, 375; *ibid.*, VIII and IX, 1925/6, pp. 9-14, 25-31, 36.



cial interest to the structure on whose walls the provisions were originally inscribed, and, since it has been suggested that this was an early bouleuterion, the problem must be examined. All the inscribed blocks were found in the Gortynian *agora presso il Leteo*, particularly in the area of the Odeum, which dates in its final form from the time of the Emperor Trajan.

Fragments of inscribed blocks are scattered throughout this building, but they are confined to two main sections. On the inner face of the curved retaining wall, slightly west of the center, a large section *ca.* 12 m. long and four courses high is composed entirely of slightly curved blocks of fine poros. These form an arc of a circle 33.30 m. in diameter and end at the east in an Ionic anta. The blocks are in their original order, so that the inscription on their inner faces can be read continuously; but they are not undisturbed. This is proved by the fact that beneath them are three courses of smaller blocks set in mortar and belonging to the Roman period. Also, each inscribed block bears a letter of the alphabet cut in the style of the first century B. C., showing that they were moved in that period and that precautions were taken to re-erect them in their original order.

The other important group of inscribed blocks is contained in a section of straight wall belonging to a building earlier than the Odeum and directly behind the curved section just described, and in another section in the same line further east. This wall is built in the Pergamenian technique (i. e. with alternating high and low courses) and must be of Hellenistic date. These blocks were re-used with no regard for the continuity of the inscriptions on them, and some were even cut down to fit the narrow courses. Furthermore, these blocks are perfectly straight, and Pernier believes that the letter forms on them are earlier than those on the curving blocks.

Both series of blocks have clearly been re-used, and the problem is—to what sort of building or buildings did they originally belong? Weickert suggests that there was some-

where in the Agora an archaic, apsidal bouleuterion, like that at Olympia, and that both its curving and straight walls bore the famous law code inscribed on their inner faces.<sup>222</sup> But Pernier gives good reason for doubting that the curved and straight blocks ever belonged to the same building. The straight blocks were carelessly cut down and set without regard for their continuity in the walls of a rectangular building of the Hellenistic period. The north side of this building was *ca.* 14.10 m. long, and its east and west walls can be traced for some distance. Its south wall was probably in the line of the *postscaenium* of the later Odeum. Thus, it would have formed an almost exact square. Its walls were not torn down at the northeast and southeast corners, but were used for buttressing the retaining wall of the Odeum, and thus the inscribed blocks in those sections were preserved. On the other hand, it was considerably later (first century B. C.) that the curving section of inscribed blocks was set in place with careful regard for the original order of the blocks. It seems very unlikely that, if they had belonged to one building, it should have been partly dismantled at one time, and the rest left standing in some conspicuous place for a century or more. Also, the proportions of the curved and straight blocks are different, and the letter forms on the straight ones are said to be earlier. Finally, the anta preserved at the end of the curving section indicates the existence of a door there, and it would be unusual to place the entrance in the curving wall of an apsidal building.

Pernier prefers to suppose, therefore, that there existed in the Agora two archaic buildings, a rectangular one and a contemporaneous or slightly later circular one. The material from the rectangular edifice was re-used in the square Hellenistic building, which was erected on the site later occupied by the Odeum. Since the inside face of the preserved rear walls of this building is rough and the courses are irregular, he believes that they were covered by some interior

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<sup>222</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 169. The idea that a bouleuterion was usually apsidal is fallacious (cf. pp. 270, 271).

arrangement, probably tiers of seats of an assembly hall of the type of the Ecclesiasterion at Priene or the Bouleuterion at Miletus. Then, in the first century B. C., this square building was destroyed and the Odeum was built. The curved blocks from the early circular building were then re-used for part of the retaining wall. The diameter of this wall was 32.50 m., and it may have been dictated in part by the dimensions of the earlier curving construction. It is possible, too, that the curved blocks originally formed a free-standing arc ending in antae. This arrangement would provide a solution for the problem of adequate lighting, so that the laws could be read. At any rate, there is no good reason to suppose that either of these early buildings was a bouleuterion.

(1) *Heraclea ad Latmum*. (Plate V, Figs. 14-17)

*Situation*. This city has been scarcely touched by the excavator, and its extensive ruins are almost unmentioned, except for the publication of its fortifications.<sup>223</sup> Hence, it is difficult to fix this relatively well-preserved building in its exact setting. It lies just outside (east of) a large colonnaded "agora" and apparently in the heart of the public buildings of the city.

*Description*. It is a rectangular building *ca.* 26.24 m. east-west and 20.18 m. north-south. It lies on a rather steep slope, which made high retaining walls necessary at the east and south. There the walls in fine, regular ashlar masonry are preserved to a maximum height of *ca.* 4.50 m. The stone is a dark brown tufa. The walls on the other sides are lower but quite distinct, and the whole interior arrangement is fairly clear. There were two doors set symmetrically in the long south side. The wall returns from both the east and west for *ca.* 7.26 m., then come the doors, each *ca.* 2.40 m.

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<sup>223</sup> Krischen, *Milet*, III, Part II. The building in question is unpublished, except for a brief notice in a popular journal (Westerman's *Monatshefte*, XC, p. 627), which is inaccessible to me.



Fig. 14. Bouleuterion, Heraclea, from southwest.



Fig. 15. Bouleuterion, Heraclea, from east

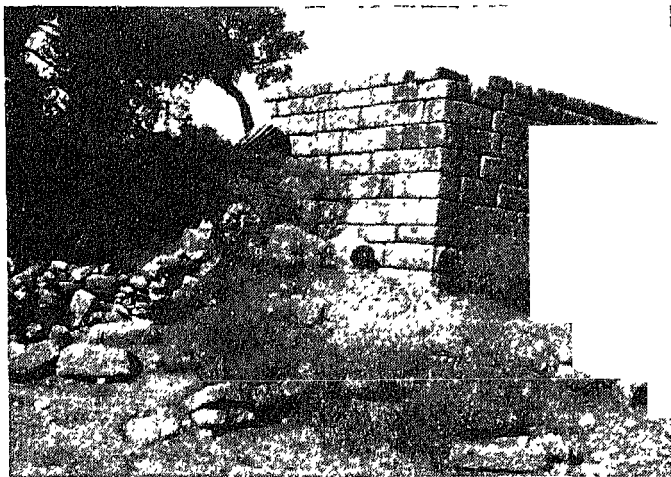


Fig. 16. Bouleuterion, Heraclea, from southwest.



Fig. 17. Bouleuterion, Heraclea, from northwest.

in width, and finally a central section of wall between them *ca.* 7.62 m. long. The sill of the eastern door is broken, but that of the other is complete, and it is clear that the doors had but one valve. Inside the thresholds at a slightly lower level is a stone platform *ca.* 1.10 m. wide, which extends all along in front of the "orchestra." The latter is almost square, measuring *ca.* 6.80 m. x 7.12 m., and it was apparently paved only with packed earth. In the center of this area, and obviously in situ, lies a plain stone block measuring *ca.* 0.72 m. x 0.74 m. on its top surface, and *ca.* 0.18 m. in height. In all probability it is the base of an altar.

Rows of straight seats bound the orchestra on the north, east, and west sides. There were apparently six rows on each side.<sup>221</sup> The seat blocks are of smooth, gray marble and quite plain, but they show the careful workmanship which is characteristic of the whole building. The seats are *ca.* 0.40 m. in width and 0.28 m. in height, and there is no definite demarcation of sitting room and place for the feet of those in the row above. The length of the rear row of seats is *ca.* 11.20 m. north-south and 17.60 m. east-west. They could have accommodated *ca.* three hundred persons.

Just behind the seats on the north side, i. e. *ca.* 4.40 m. from the north outside wall, are the bases and lowest drum of two unfluted columns set *ca.* 4.40 m. apart, the eastern one *ca.* 9.20 m. from the east outside wall and the western an equal distance from the west outside wall. Two additional columns may be restored with great probability in the center of these spaces, a scheme which would make the five resulting intercolumniations of equal width. It is likely that here, as at Priene, there was a row of columns on three sides behind the highest row of seats, and a corridor between them and the outer walls. This corridor would have been *ca.* 4.40 m. wide

<sup>221</sup> On the east side, the lowest two and the fourth are preserved in part; on the north side, the lowest four are intact for their whole length, and the sixth in its western half; on the west side, all six are preserved in the northern part, and the lowest for its whole length.

and was probably at the level of the highest row of seats.<sup>225</sup> An unfluted column drum and three fluted ones are lying in the orchestra, and there are several more just outside the entrance. One of these has an unfluted and a fluted section in the same drum, and it may well be that all of the columns were plain in the lower and fluted in the upper part.

*Identification.* The building was obviously a small roofed auditorium. Its situation makes probable a civic use, and its plan is so similar to that of the Ecclesiasterion at Priene that there is good reason to conclude that it was a political meeting place. Since Heraclea was evidently quite a large city, this building could scarcely have accommodated the whole voting assembly, as did the one in Priene. Hence, the designation "bouleuterion" is best applied to it.

*Date.* The well-preserved outside walls at the south and east, with the technique of alternate long and short blocks especially noticeable in the east, clearly belong to the Hellenistic period and are closely paralleled by the masonry in the towers of the later period in the city's fortifications. These Krischen dates slightly before 300 B. C., and this building must be almost contemporaneous. The profile of the Ionic column bases would agree well with this date.

(m) *Lousoi*.<sup>226</sup> (Plate VIII, Fig. 18)

*Situation.* This building is located on the north edge of the hill, just outside the line of the wall which surrounded the precinct of Artemis, and directly opposite a monumental entrance to that precinct. The road apparently led up from the east past this building, and there it turned southward toward the temple. No contiguous buildings were discovered.

*Description.* It is almost exactly square in plan, 15.50 m. east-west and 15.10 m. north-south. The walls were every-

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<sup>225</sup> The preserved column bases are about on the level of the third row of seats, but they are somewhat rough and may have been covered by a flooring on the level of the highest row of seats.

<sup>226</sup> Reichel and Wilhelm, *Jahreshefte*, IV, 1901, pp. 20-23.

where bedded in careful cuttings in the rock, and in many parts it is only these cuttings which now permit the plan of the building to be ascertained. The blocks are carefully jointed in a modified polygonal style. An interior wall ran east-west *ca.* 3.50 m. north of the outside south wall. The narrow space thus divided off is thought to have been a fore-hall or vestibule. In the larger section north of this there



Fig. 18. Bouleuterion, Lousoi, from south.

was a substantial wall *ca.* 1.50 m. thick, forming roughly a semicircle and opening to the south. The excavators believe that this was the foundation for curving rows of seats. Behind it, the rock was left quite rough and an artificial earth filling was found, while in the southern division the rock had been carefully smoothed and is quite worn. The super-structure of the building was of mud-brick, and fragments of the terracotta cornice were recovered.

*Identification.* This rests entirely on a comparison of the



ground plan with that of other buildings identified as bouleuteria, notably that at Eleusis.<sup>227</sup>

*Date.* This was not accurately determined from finds or other criteria. It is probably contemporaneous with the temple of Artemis and so would date in the fourth or third century B. C. The type of wall construction would favor the fourth century.

(n) *Mantineia*.<sup>228</sup> (Plate IX)

*Situation.* This building borders the middle of the south side of the Agora. No immediately contiguous structures were discovered.

*Description.*

Period 1. (Solid black in plan.) Its earliest form was that of a regular stoa, with a projecting wing at either end. These wings are *ca.* 8.50 m. wide and extend *ca.* 3 m. north of the front line of the rest of the stoa. The main body of the building is *ca.* 35 m. east-west and 9 m. north-south. It had an open colonnade at the north and solid walls on the other three sides. The number and order of the columns at the front cannot be ascertained. The solid walls were of sun-dried brick set on a foundation of carefully cut stone blocks. In the open space in front of and between the wings are several stele beddings, and two large statue bases are set

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<sup>227</sup> A similarity is suggested between this and a building at Epidaurus (Kavvadias, *Τὸ Ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ*, pp. 159, 160, Building O in general plan). There, traces of an earlier structure came to light in a complex of Roman baths at the northeast corner of the great open square. As marked on the plan they consist simply of two parallel east-west walls *ca.* 7 m. apart and 10 m. long, with a curving wall opening toward the south lying between them. Kavvadias connects with this construction seats of the Hellenic period found just to the west, but he describes the traces as belonging to a "semicircular exedra." At any rate, there is too little of the building preserved to warrant any theory as to its form or use.

<sup>228</sup> Fougères, *B. C. H.*, XI, 1887, p. 486; *ibid.*, XIV, 1890, pp. 256-260; *Mantinee et l'Arcadie Orientale*, pp. 174-177, Fig. 44.

symmetrically, one beside each wing. The entrance is supposed to have been between them, at the center.

Period 2. (XXXXX in plan.) At the back (south) of the building there was added a second, strictly rectangular portico, with its open side facing south. It stretches the full length of the earlier stoa and has a width of *ca.* 7.50 m. On the south the solid east side wall returns for *ca.* 3 m., and there was probably a corresponding return at the west. In the interval there remained in situ the bases of eight Ionic columns, with lower drums showing convex fluting. A coating of stucco covered the rough conglomerate. There must originally have been two more of these columns at the west, making ten in all. At the eastern end a double stairway led up from the earlier stoa to the higher level of the later one. There was probably a similar stairway at the west, but this, like the other elements of this period in the western section, has been obliterated by later changes.

Period 3. (///// in plan.) The western section of both stoas was occupied by a later construction which measures 15.90 m. north-south and 8.35 m. east-west. The entrance is in the south, where the bases of two pilasters are still preserved. Inside the door there is a narrow vestibule, and a second door gives access to a large room to the north. It was divided into two almost equal parts by a wooden lattice or grille running east-west. Two statue bases were found there, one against the east wall in the southern part, the other in the center of the rear (north) division.

*Identification.* The building was clearly used for some civic purpose. The only specific indication of its use is provided by a block found in it, which bears the inscription "of Zeus the good Counsellor" (Διὸς Εὐβουλέως) in letters of the fourth century B. C.<sup>229</sup> Zeus Eubouleus may well correspond

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<sup>229</sup> Fougères does not mention this inscription in his attempt to identify the building as a bouleuterion. It is published in *B. O. H.*, XX, 1896, pp. 133, 134. Diodorus Siculus (V, 7, 12) says Zeus had this epithet "because of his skill in good counselling."

to Zeus Boulaeus, who was worshipped in the Bouleuterion at Athens and elsewhere.<sup>230</sup> Several inscriptions of a political nature were also found in or near it, and they doubtless stood in the above-mentioned stele beddings. The construction of Period 3 is thought to have been a heroum, where worship of the Roman emperors was conducted.

*Date.* Period 1 is assigned to the fourth century B. C., a time when much new building was done at Mantinea. The reconstruction of Period 2 belongs in Hellenistic times, probably late fourth or early third century B. C., as is shown by the type of Ionic column. The change represented by Period 3 was effected in the Roman Imperial age.

(o) *Megalopolis*.<sup>231</sup> (Plate XII)

*Situation.* The river Helisson divided this city into a northern and a southern section. The great Theater was cut into the hill which lies near the south bank, and between the Theater and the river the building in question was erected. A porch in the center of its south side actually formed the background for the plays staged in the Theater. Pausanias mentions various other monuments which he saw near it, but they have not been located.

*Description.* It was a very large rectangular columned hall, measuring 86.10 m. east-west and 67.71 m. north-south. The outer walls are heavy and well built in the "bull-nosed" style of masonry. There are traces of four doorways, two in the east wall, one in the north wall (western part), and one in the west wall (northern part). It is probable that there were two doors on each of these three sides, but the walls are too low at the places where the other two would have been located to make certain of this. The southern door in the east wall is *ca.* 2.76 m. wide, while the width of the other three is *ca.* 3.54 m. The necessary height of the stairs leading

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<sup>230</sup> Cf. pp. 280, 281.

<sup>231</sup> Gardner *et al.*, *J. H. S.*, Supplement I, 1892, pp. 17-33; Benson, *J. H. S.*, XIII, 1892/3, pp. 319-327; Bather, *ibid.*, pp. 328-335.

up to them would vary with the outside ground level at the different doors and the inside level to which they gave access. In the case of the door in the rear (north) wall, the sill is *ca.* 1.77 m. below the general sill course, and there are two stone steps with no traces of others. On the second step are cuttings for double doors, each of which was *ca.* 1.57 m. in width, and it is likely that there was a continuation inside, consisting of a flight of wooden stairs leading up to the high ranges of the auditorium. A less likely explanation is that this door gave access to a room under a sloping floor. It is noteworthy that each door was set in the line of a row of interior columns, so that it did not interfere with any of the space from which the center was visible.

The great area of the interior of the hall (*ca.* 3000 sq. m.) made necessary the use of a large number of columns to support the roof, and the bases of most of them are still in situ.<sup>232</sup> They are arranged in lines radiating from the center, so that the maximum area of the hall was in visible and audible connection with the speaker, who probably stood in the small square area or "orchestra" in the center.

Inside the hall there is still a slope downward to the south (the opposite of the natural slope of the ground outside), which suggests a theater-like arrangement with the spectators facing south toward the portico. Perhaps another indication of this orientation is the fact that the column bases are

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<sup>232</sup> They belong to two general groups, a few surviving from the original building and the remainder dating from a repair. In the third row, the original intercolumniation of *ca.* 13.39 m. was later halved, and for the new column bases smaller and rougher blocks were used. This row is in the center of the system of columns and would support most weight. The intercolumniation here was obviously too great, and the consequent weakness probably caused a collapse, which necessitated this re building. The indications are that the interior columns were of white limestone, unfluted, and of the Doric order. This is shown by the working chips around the bases, the system of doweling to the lower drum, which is identical with that employed in the porch where the order is certain, and one fragment of a column drum found in situ.

only one course high at the south, but at least five courses at the north. Their arrangement, too, is significant; not only do they form lines radiating from the center, but they also form five  $\Gamma$  shaped lines with the open side toward the south. The innermost of these lines comprises four bases, the outermost sixteen. Furthermore, the walls in the southern section of the building were carefully finished on the inside and were clearly meant to be visible, while in the northern part they are rough and must have been out of sight. All of these considerations point to a seating arrangement rising in tiers from south to north.

The easiest and most economical method to gain this slope would be to have a sloping earth fill with wooden seats erected upon it. The excavators believe that an auditorium of semicircular form is indicated by the fact that in the third row the corner bases lie *ca.* 0.20 m. higher than the rest, and in the fourth row *ca.* 0.09 m. higher. However, this is more likely to be connected with the problem of roofing. An auditorium with seats in straight rows on three sides of the central rectangle is more suited to this arrangement of the columns, and it would have been much simpler to construct in wood.

The six free-standing columns nearest the south wall, with bases on the same level in a straight line, probably supported the front of a wooden platform for the dignitaries. From the orchestra in front of this platform passages apparently led diagonally to a door at either side. These would correspond to the *parodoi* of a theater.

The many fragments of tiles and acroteria show that the building was completely roofed. Probably an architrave ran to the outside walls above each line of columns, and, since there are no marks of *antae* against the walls, wooden beams were probably built into the walls to support them. The third row of columns, along with those at the front of the platform, makes an almost perfect square with the same level throughout, and it is possible that over this part there was a separate roof, forming a clerestory for additional lighting.

This possibility is strengthened by the finding in the central part of several antefixes which are considerably more elaborate and graceful than those found in the rest of the building. Such a clerestory would make complete roofing and drainage more comprehensible. The roof can scarcely have followed the slope inside the building and drained to the center, since no provision was found in the floor at the center for carrying away the water. It is likely that the clerestory was gabled and that the rest of the roof was of the truncated hipped type. Windows may have been set in the intervals of the outside row of columns.

Much more material was recovered for the restoration of the porch in the center of the south side of the building. There were fourteen Doric columns along the front, and a single column and anta on the returns. It had a Doric entablature and pediment. In the partition wall were three doors connecting it with the auditorium, and incorporated in the foundations of this wall are two antae, with four bases between them. These bases are exactly like the earlier ones in the interior of the building and are in line with the central four at the front of the platform. It is clear, therefore, that there were originally five doors between porch and auditorium. There were at first only two steps at the front of the porch, but three more were added at a later period.<sup>233</sup> The condition of the later steps shows that they were not in general use for traffic between auditorium and Theater.

*Identification.* Pausanias says:

The southern portion, on the other side of the river, can boast of the largest theater in all Greece, and in it is a spring which never fails. Not far from the theater are left foundations of the council house built for the Ten Thousand [μύριοι] Arcadians, and called Thersilium after the man who dedicated it.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>233</sup> It is not necessary here to go into the problem of the bearing of these steps on the date of the introduction of a raised stage in the Greek theater.

<sup>234</sup> VIII, 32, 1.

This great building lying just north of the Theater agrees perfectly with his description, and its identification is certain. It is calculated that the building would have accommodated *ca.* six thousand seated or ten thousand standing. There can be no doubt that the members of the assembly of the Arcadian league, which was called "the ten thousand," were seated during their meetings. But the fact that the building in question would not hold a full ten thousand seated is not a serious objection. The word used to designate the assembly means ten thousand if accented on the antepenult, but connotes only a large, indefinite number if accented on the penult. It is in the latter sense that most scholars understand the number in connection with the Arcadian league.

*Date.* Megalopolis was a city of mushroom growth, founded immediately after the battle of Leuctra in 371 B. C. All indications point to the Thersilion's having been one of the first buildings to be erected. The use of H clamps in the earlier parts and the employment of tufa, rather than conglomerate, corroborate this. Moreover, the plentiful fragments of the superstructure of the porch, which was clearly contemporaneous with the rest of the building, can be dated in the early fourth century B. C. There was at least one period of extensive repair, probably necessitated by the collapse of the roof. This was perhaps in the following century,<sup>235</sup> but it was completely in ruins when Pausanias visited the city in the second century A. D.

(p) *Messene*.<sup>236</sup> (Plate XIX, Figs. 19-21)

*Situation.* So little excavation has been done as yet on this site that it is difficult to say anything of the general plan of the city. The complex in question probably formed the eastern limit of the Agora.<sup>237</sup> Another partially excavated

<sup>235</sup> Cf. pp. 102, 103.

<sup>236</sup> Sophoules, *Praktika*, 1895, p. 27; Oikonomos, *ibid.*, 1909, pp. 201-205; *ibid.*, 1925, pp. 55-64.

<sup>237</sup> The long axis of the building is actually almost due northeast-southwest, but it will be supposed, for ease in reference, to run north-south.

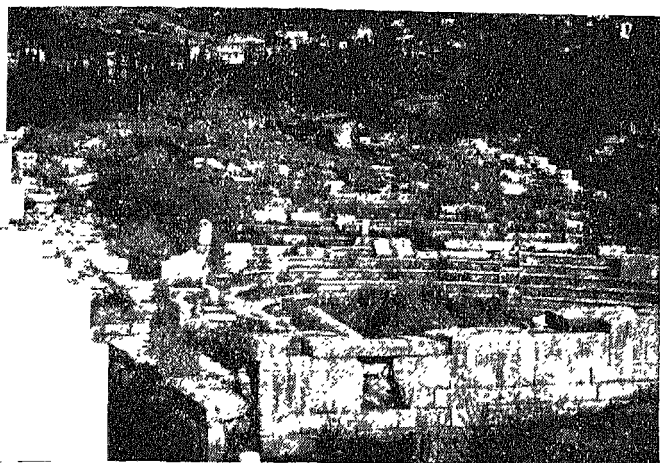


Fig. 19. Bouleuterion, Messene, from south.

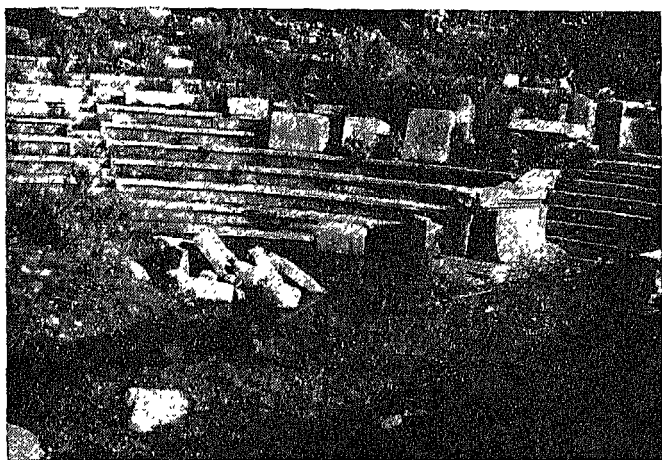


Fig 20. Bouleuterion, Messene, from southwest.



public building stretched westward from the south end of this building and seems to have formed the southern limit of the Agora square.<sup>238</sup> The two central "rooms" of the building in question formed a propylon which gave access from the east to this open space.



Fig. 21. Bouleuterion, Messene, from northeast.

*Description.* The complex consists of four rooms or divisions, which have been designated by the excavator with the letters A, B, C, D (numbering from south to north, and lettering the western of the two central rooms first). The stone used throughout is a good quality of local blue marble, which lends itself to the cutting of fine mouldings.

Division A is a large room, 18.80 m. x 19.00 m., with six entrances each *ca.* 1.80 m. wide placed symmetrically in its west side. These are divided into two groups by a central section of solid wall, and on either side of it two pillars with

<sup>238</sup> There is also a wall running west for an undetermined distance from near the north end of the complex. This might form the north boundary of the Agora.

Ionic half-columns on their east and west sides form three doorways.<sup>239</sup> The thresholds are well preserved, but no cuttings for doors are visible, and it is likely that they were quite open. A stone bench is built against the wall on the remaining three sides. The work in it is careful, as all through the complex, and the various sections are of one piece with the wall block behind. One of the supports, in the form of a lion's leg, is preserved at the west end of the north side. The bench is 0.35 m. wide and 0.40 m. high. A border of stone paving 0.65 m. wide runs around the enclosed space beneath and just in front of the bench. There are no signs of pavement inside this. The excavator believes that the room was roofed, since several fragments of roof tiles were found. If so, it probably had interior roof supports, but no certain trace of them is now preserved.<sup>240</sup>

Room B is 11.27 m. x 8.55 m. and has in its western side three entrances, each 2.00 m. wide. These are formed by two columns, probably Corinthian, between antae.<sup>241</sup> Again there are no signs of cuttings for doors, and here it is almost certain that the entrances were open. The floor level of this room slopes gradually upward toward the east and is now *ca.* 0.55 m. below the level of the thresholds giving access to room C. The floor is of hard gravel and may originally have been somewhat higher. The base blocks of the north and south walls follow the upward slope by the addition of a narrow course at intervals.

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<sup>239</sup> The flutings are convex. A drum from one of these lies in room B. The northern pillar of the southern pair had no half-column built against it, and the base for some sort of monument is substituted.

<sup>240</sup> There are now inside the room a number of Roman walls, destroyed by fire in Byzantine times. Any pre-existing columns would have been torn out or incorporated into them. There are two Ionic column drums and an Ionic base near the walls, but they do not appear to be *in situ*. It is possible that the room in its original form was unroofed and that the tiles belong to the later constructions.

<sup>241</sup> The base of the northern one is still in place, and a poros Corinthian capital nearby is of the right proportions to be associated with it.

Room C is 8.50 m. square and has a level floor paved with sixty-four stone slabs, each 1.04 m. square. At its eastern end are three entrances formed by four pillars, the outer two engaged.<sup>242</sup> These were likewise open. The outer intervals are 1.82 m. and the central is 2.22 m. in width. The pavement of room C is 0.43 m. below the level of the thresholds of the doorways connecting it with room B. This seems a very high step, but a base moulding on the east vertical face proves that there was no intermediate block. The three entrances at the center between the two rooms were each provided with double doors, the outer openings 1.22 m. and the middle one 2.43 m. in width.

Room D was the auditorium proper. It is *ca.* 27 m. north-south and 21 m. east-west, and the curving seats open toward the south. Its outside walls are preserved to a considerable height at the east and north, and they show the distinctive technique of rounding each block in vertical section. There are three doors in the eastern wall, and one, possibly two, in the western.<sup>243</sup> Those on the east are progressively lower from north to south, following the slope of the ground; that on the west is on the lowest level of all, for there is also a less pronounced slope downward from east to west.

The most northerly entrance in the east side is *ca.* 1.20 m. wide, and in the threshold there are clear cuttings for the setting of a single door. It gave access from the street outside to the diazoma of the auditorium, and at this point no steps were needed. The central entrance is *ca.* 1.50 m. wide and was closed with double doors. There is a landing inside, and then nine steps lead down to the level of the orchestra.

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<sup>242</sup> Their bases are *in situ*, and the rectangular nature of the supports is indicated by the arrangement of the dowel holes. The capitals of these pillars lie nearby.

<sup>243</sup> Oikonomos says that there was a second door in the west side near its north end. At a point *ca.* 6 m. from the north end of the wall there is a rounded cutting in the topmost block, but rubbish obscures its exact nature. Present indications would make unlikely the existence of a door there.

The southern entrance is 1.06 m. wide and had a single door and at least five steps leading down to the platform at the front of the auditorium. The door on the west side is 1.90 m. wide and is directly opposite the central eastern entrance. No stairway was necessary here, however, to connect entrance and orchestra.

The orchestra has a diameter of 9.70 m., and there is room for a complete circle. It is said to have been paved with square slabs of red, white, and blue marble.<sup>244</sup> The lowest row of seats borders the northern half of its circumference. There are eleven rows of seats below the diazoma. They are of simple profile with a height of 0.36 m., a seat width of 0.315 m., and a slightly lower space 0.45 m. wide for the feet of those in the row above. They are divided into three wedges by four stairways leading from the orchestra to the diazoma. The outer two stairways are at the extreme edges of the auditorium, against the supporting parados walls. Each of the stairways is *ca.* 0.55 m. wide and has two steps for every seat. Another stairway, 0.72 m. wide, leads upward along the west wall from just inside the door. The diazoma is *ca.* 1.40 m. wide and is backed by three courses of low stone blocks. Each course is set inside the one below, and thus they form a low, battered retaining wall for the upper section of the auditorium. This upper part retains its rubble fill, and the outline of seats can almost be made out in it. Oikonomos thinks that these upper seats were of wood, rather than of stone.<sup>245</sup> If, as seems likely, the building was entirely roofed, interior supports would seem to be essential, but no traces of such are preserved.

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<sup>244</sup> This pavement and the exact outline of the southern part of the orchestra is no longer visible.

<sup>245</sup> Numerous rather broken stone blocks lie about in this section. They approximate a width of 0.76 m. and a height of 0.20 m. They are perfectly square cut and rather low for seat blocks, and they are more probably base blocks. Evidence was apparently found for wooden benches in this section, and a more detailed discussion of the problem is promised by the excavator.

Remains of a low stage are preserved along the front (south) of the auditorium, and the excavator believes that it belongs to the original plan of the building. He points to the fact that a projecting stone of the outer west wall of the building is bound in with the front wall of the stage (*proscenium*), and that the stairway leading down to the stage from the east outside wall is original. In the front wall of the stage are three entrances, with a width of 0.92 m., 1.35 m. and 0.95 m. respectively from west to east. Their sills and jambs are formed of large plain blocks of irregular size, and the walls between are of rather poor rubble construction. He explains the rough nature of the walls by the assumption that all were reveted with marble. This may have been true of the rubble walls, but the door sills and jambs were certainly not so treated; yet they show none of the careful drafting and moulding that characterize every detail of the original building. They must belong to a later period. Moreover, the stairway leading down to the stage is indeed original, but its bottom step is only slightly above the level of the orchestra, and considerably below the highest preserved stones of the stage, so that it certainly was not originally intended to lead down to this stage. The block in the outside wall at the west does project in the line of the front of the stage and it may have had something to do with an earlier construction at the front of the building.<sup>248</sup>

A late base in situ at the bottom of the central entrance from the east has cuttings on its top surface which show that it bore an equestrian statue. A previously discovered inscription belongs to it and proves that the statue was that of Tiberius Claudius Saithidas, a *Helladarches* and a prominent citizen of Messene.

*Date.* The architectural details and a comparison with

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<sup>248</sup> In the preliminary reports published in *B. O. H.*, XLIX, 1925, pp. 453, 454, and in *A. J. A.*, XXX, 1926, p. 361, it is stated that the stage is later than the rest of the building. But, in the more detailed publication mentioned above, this opinion is reversed.

buildings in Asia Minor would indicate that this building was erected in the third century B. C.<sup>247</sup>

*Identification.* The complex of four rooms is identified as a "synedrium" or bouleuterion, and it is generally referred to as the Synedrium at Messene. But there is no proof that any part of the complex was called "synedrium." To be sure, several inscriptions found in or near the building record decrees of the political body known as the synedrium, or refer to it in some other way; but there is no mention in any of the published inscriptions of any actual building thus designated. The alternative designation "bouleuterion" is probable for room D. If the stage were original, it would be dangerous, in spite of the inscriptions, to call it anything but an odeum. But, since the stage was apparently a later addition, it may be explained on the assumption that the building later came to be used for purposes of entertainment, as well as for political meetings.

The four "rooms" do not comprise a close unit, since B and C clearly form a propylon, and thus separate A and D. Room A may have had some use in connection with the Messenian synedrium.<sup>248</sup> Room D has analogies with several buildings used for political meetings.<sup>249</sup>

(q) *Miletus*.<sup>250</sup> (Plate XIV, Figs. 22-23)

*Situation.* The Agora at Miletus is divided into a small northern and a large southern part, with a propylon connect-

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<sup>247</sup> Oikonomos dated it to the very end of the Hellenistic period in his report in 1909. The latest reports, from a comparison with the Priene and Miletus assembly halls, place it soon after 323 B. C.

<sup>248</sup> It rather resembles the large rooms found very often in gymnasia and identified as school rooms for the ephebes.

<sup>249</sup> Cf. p. 268. In the journal notices referred to in note 246, this building is compared with one at Syracuse and another at Thera. The only construction on Thera which in any way resembles room D is the small but quite regular Theater. I can find no notice of such a small auditorium at Syracuse.

<sup>250</sup> Knackfuss, *Das Rathaus von Milet, Milet, I, Part II*; correction in *Milet, I, Part VII*, pp. 279, 280.

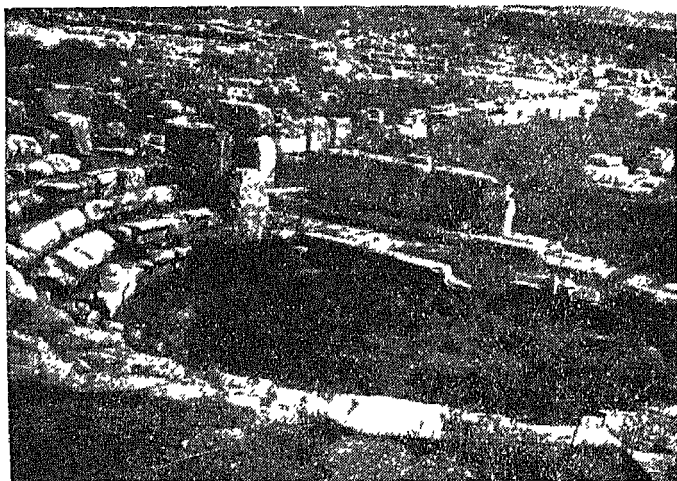


Fig. 22. Bouleuterion, Miletus, from southwest.

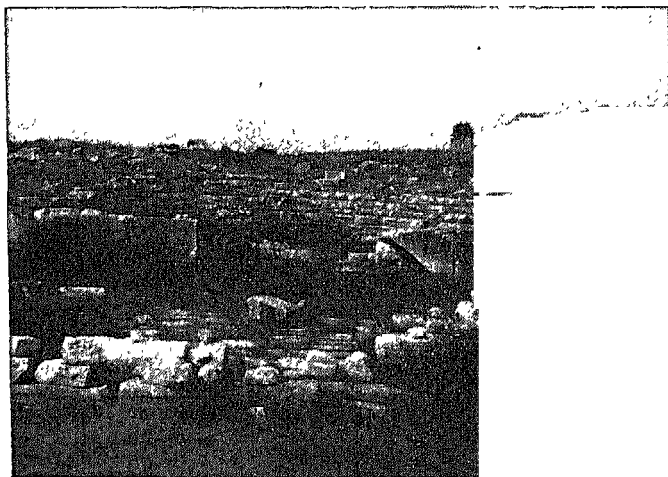


Fig. 23. Bouleuterion, Miletus, from east.

ing them. The building in question is the first on the west side beyond the propylon in the northern part. A street runs along its south side, and temples and baths are in its immediate neighborhood.

*Description.* There are three main divisions in the complex: (1) the auditorium proper at the west; (2) the large forecourt with a porch on the east facing the Agora, and interior porticos on the north, south, and east sides; (3) a heroum in the center of the forecourt.

The auditorium is a rectangular room 34.84 m. north-south and 24.28 m. east-west. Enough wall blocks and other fragments of the superstructure remained, either in place or nearby, to ascertain the exact height of the wall and the nature of its various courses. It was divided into an upper and a lower section. In the upper part, Doric half-columns were set, with corresponding pilasters on the inside. Instead of a column, a large square pilaster was placed at each outer corner. Between the half-columns, at least on the south and east sides, windows alternated with round stone shields 1.28 m. in diameter. The regular Doric scheme, with considerable elaboration, was used on the epistyle. Traces of red and blue paint still remain on these blocks. The architrave of the long east side bore a monumental inscription.

In the west side, two entrances set symmetrically *ca.* 9 m. from either side provided access to the back of the auditorium. They are *ca.* 1.43 m. wide and were originally closed by double doors, but the wearing shows that usually only one valve was opened. Inside each there is a vestibule *ca.* 2.20 m. square, from which flights of stairs led north and south respectively to the extreme northwest and southwest corners of the building. Then the stairs turned east, and a few more steps brought one to the level of the top row of seats. There were originally four entrances in the east wall of the auditorium. These were arranged in two groups of two, placed *ca.* 3 m. apart near the north and south, and thus leaving a blank wall *ca.* 13 m. long in the center. Each door had two



valves and was *ca.* 1.23 m. wide. In a later period, a wide door was cut through the center of this wall to connect with a contemporaneous stage built behind the orchestra.

A paved passage *ca.* 2.74 m. wide extends all along the east side of the auditorium. Its west limit is formed by the end walls which support the seats and which correspond to the parodos walls of a theater. In the south of this passage two movable floor slabs gave entrance to an underground room 1.82 m. long, 1.68 m. wide, and 1.59 m. high, the walls and floor of which are of carefully cut blocks. This passage gives access from the east to the orchestra. It is circular, with a diameter of *ca.* 7.50 m.,<sup>251</sup> and is unpaved, except for a band *ca.* 1 m. wide running around the outside in front of the lowest row of seats. The seats are of marble, set in part on an earth fill and in part on stone blocks. They follow a curved scheme, and the whole arrangement is almost horse-shoe shaped, enclosing the orchestra for considerably more than half its circumference. It is divided into three wedges by four stairways, two of which are built along the inside of the parodos walls. The central wedge is considerably larger than the side ones.<sup>252</sup>

Since the height of the building, the distance from the innermost row of seats to the side walls, and the dimensions of the seats are known, eighteen rows of seats can be restored with certainty. Seats belonging to the original building can be distinguished from those of a later reconstruction. The original seats are preserved above the fourth (in the south and middle wedges) and fifth (in the north wedge) rows. They have a width of 0.30 m., a slightly lower

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<sup>251</sup> The present width of the opening which connects passage and orchestra is *ca.* 6 m., but traces were found which prove that in the earliest period it was *ca.* 7 m.

<sup>252</sup> Traces of the arrangement of the earliest period show that at that time the innermost row of seats described a true three-quarters of a circle about the orchestra, and that the two central stairways are original, while the two outer ones belong to the restoration. One of the treads in these is an inverted Ionic column base, and almost all of the blocks are re-used.

foot-rest 0.39 m. wide, and a height of 0.38 m. Below these the seats are later and of somewhat different dimensions and material, 0.37 m. high, 0.36 m. wide, and with a less deeply cut foot-rest. A space was left in the northwest and southwest corners between the highest row of seats and the walls and stairways. Huge marble tripods, of which fragments were found in the building, probably occupied these positions. There may also have been a row of seats against the wall, since a fragment of a straight seat block has been discovered. There are traces of two bases for roof supports in the parados walls on either side of the orchestra, and two corresponding ones are restored among the upper seats.<sup>253</sup> It is calculated that the auditorium would seat *ca.* twelve hundred persons.

Adjoining the auditorium on the east is a rectangular forecourt, *ca.* 34.84 m. east-west and 31.62 m. north-south. There are traces of antae which stood against the west wall just inside the southernmost and northernmost doors of the auditorium. In line with these are the foundations for a row of columns along the north and south sides *ca.* 4.90 m. from the outside walls, and for another row which extended along the east side of the court at an equal distance from the wall. There is evidence for restoring on the long sides ten columns, and on the east three groups of two columns separated by two pillars in line with the side walls of the porch. This porch, in the form of a propylon 7.51 m. wide, was situated in the middle of the east wall. It is restored tetrastyle prostyle, with two pillars between antae in the line of the main wall, providing three entrances. The columns were of the Corinthian order, and on the architrave there was an inscription identical with that on the architrave of the main building.

Almost in the center of the open forecourt is a rectangular foundation 9.50 m. x 7.25 m. Several elaborately carved slabs found nearby indicate that it was a low construction.

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<sup>253</sup> The whole arrangement is badly destroyed here. The preserved bases are *ca.* 1.00 m. x 0.42 m. in top dimensions, and *ca.* 1.10 m. high.

*Identification.* The identical inscriptions on the two architraves supplement each other and can be certainly restored thus: "Timarchus and Heraclides, sons of Heraclides, on behalf of King Antiochus Epiphanes, to Apollo Didymaeus and Hestia Boulaea and the People" (Τίμαρχος καὶ Ἡρακλείδης οἱ Ἡρακλείδου ὑπὲρ Βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου Ἐπιφανοῦς Ἀπόλλωνι Διδυμεῖ καὶ Ἑστίᾳ Βουλαίᾳ καὶ τῷ Δῆμῳ). There are grounds for connecting Hestia Boulaea with the bouleuterion, and parallels exist for such dedications of bouleuteria by private individuals.<sup>254</sup> Also, there were found in this building at least six inscribed decrees passed by the council or in some way related to it. The plan, too, and the fact that the stage was a much later addition point to its having been intended for the meetings of a political body. There is a literary description of such a bouleuterion in Asia Minor, and in it a great forecourt is especially mentioned.<sup>255</sup>

The small room under the passage in the south of the auditorium was probably used as a storehouse for money and documents closely connected with the council. The discovery there of the skeletons of between ten and fourteen men suggests the possibility of its having been a tomb; but it is more probable that it was later used as a prison, or perhaps these bodies were thrown in after the building had gone out of use. The central structure in the forecourt was probably a heroum, and the building of a bouleuterion about a hero's grave has parallels.<sup>256</sup>

*Date.* The historical implications in the monumental dedicatory inscriptions on the architraves date the building closely between 175 and 164 B. C. The general character of the ornamentation and sculpture, as well as the building technique, agree well with this period. The auditorium and

<sup>254</sup> Cf. pp. 281, 282 and p. 277.

<sup>255</sup> Cf. p. 148.

<sup>256</sup> Cf. p. 276. For want of a more suitable place, it may be mentioned here that a correction should be made in a report of excavations at Nicopolis in Epirus (*J.H.S.*, XLI, 1921, p. 274), where "bouleuterion" is a misprint for "baptisterion."

the forecourt are contemporaneous, for their foundations are bonded into one another. The heroum and the present porch, however, are somewhat later. The cutting of the middle door in the east wall of the auditorium and the addition of the stage occurred in the Roman period.

(r) *Notium*.<sup>257</sup> (Plate VI)

*Situation.* This building lay in the center of the fortified part of the city, about half way between the large temple of Athena and the Theater, and immediately to the west of the larger (west) of the two Agoras of Notium.

*Description.* Its outer walls form a rectangle 27 m. north-south and 22.5 m. east-west. The main entrance probably lay in the east side, although the threshold is not preserved. This orientation is indicated by the fact that the rows of seats in the interior are arranged around three sides of a rectangle, with the east side open. There are only four rows of seats preserved, but, since the central part of the building has been washed away, it is possible that there were several more. They have the usual profile of theater seats and are 0.62 m. wide and 0.28 m. high.

The highest preserved row is said definitely to have been the last, and behind this on all three sides there is a space *ca.* 4 m. wide, which forms a corridor running around the back of the auditorium with its floor at the level of the highest row of seats. This corridor was divided in two by a row of columns set somewhat over 2 m. from the outside walls. There were six of these columns on the longer west side and at least four on the north and south sides, counting the corner columns twice. The intercolumniation is 4 m. It is likely that there was one more column at the east end of the rows on the north and south sides. This would leave a space of 2 m. to the east wall and would correspond to the distance from the columns to the outer walls on the other three sides. A column stump almost in situ in the northwest corner has a

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<sup>257</sup> Schuchhardt, *A. M.*, XI, 1886, pp. 422-424; Demangel and Lamontier, *B. C. H.*, XLVII, 1923, pp. 354, 359, Fig. 1.

diameter of *ca.* 0.60 m. It is roughly worked and was probably covered with a coating of stucco. Some of the columns were set on slabs *ca.* 1 m. square, the top surface of which lies at the same height as the upper row of seats; others were supported by deeper foundations. In the corner columns and in that nearest the northwest corner, the lowest part of the shaft is cut in the same block with the base.<sup>258</sup>

The rows of seats end *ca.* 1.30 m. short of the east outside wall, and in the space thus left there must have been stairways leading up to the level of the rear corridor. The fact that the intercolumniations in the corridor are over five and one-half lower diameters points to the use of a wooden entablature.

Schuchhardt believes that the position of the columns so near the outer walls shows that the building was not completely roofed and that the porticos were more or less decorative, with the rows of seats open to the sky. The disappearance of the central part of the building, however, makes it possible that there may have been roof supports there. The excavator holds that, had this been the case, the architect would not have divided the rear corridor with other columns. But an additional row of columns there would have considerably strengthened the roof, and their position in the center of the corridor would not have seriously impeded circulation. Another possibility is that the interior span of *ca.* 20 m. may have been roofed without the support of any columns nearer the center.<sup>259</sup>

*Identification.* This building was clearly used as a large

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<sup>258</sup> Cf. the so-called Basilica in Phlius, which is dated in the third century B. C.

<sup>259</sup> In the very similar Ecclesiasterion at Priene the unsupported roof span was *ca.* 15 m. However, it is difficult to see any reason for setting the columns some distance behind the uppermost row of seats, if this had been the case. It is just possible that the central part was unroofed and that it somewhat resembled the Bouleuterion described by Libanius (cf. p. 148). This is also conceivable in the case of the Thasos building (cf. p. 245), but Libanius seems to be describing a peristyle court like that at Miletus, rather than the actual auditorium.

auditorium, which Schuchhardt believes was a dicasterion or bouleuterion.<sup>260</sup> Its similarity in plan to the Ecclesiasterion at Priene and the Bouleuterion at Heraclea would point to the latter use.

*Date.* The excavator merely states that the building technique throughout is pure Greek, with no trace of later repair. The material is a coarse breccia, while limestone was invariably used in later building. The bulk of the earlier finds on the site were Hellenistic, and the building probably belongs in the third or second century B. C.

(s) *Nysa on the Maeander.*<sup>261</sup> (Plate XVI, Figs. 24-26)

*Situation.* This building is situated in the center of the city and is separated from the Agora only by a narrow street to the east. The Theater lies to the north, the Amphitheater to the west.

*Description.* The auditorium itself forms a rectangle 26 m. east-west and 20.20 m. north-south, while a later porch 5.20 m. wide extends all along the south side. The outer walls are of rather rough construction, with good blocks only at the corners. The front line of an earlier stoa was incorporated into the north wall, and the lower drums of its columns remain in position. Access to the interior is gained through five doors set symmetrically in the south wall. The two outer doors are cut in the eastern and western extremities of the wall, and they are directly opposite the ends of an arched passageway which runs around the auditorium just

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<sup>260</sup> In the later French publication of Notium it is designated as a dicasterion, but it was not examined further. In the absence of known examples, it is difficult to prove its right to such an identification. Moreover, bouleuteria are known to have been the scene of many legal proceedings.

<sup>261</sup> Diest, *Jahrbuch, Ergänzungsheft X*, 1913, *Nysa ad Maeandrum*, pp. 36-40 (Plate IV is wrong in its restoration of the south wall and elsewhere); Kourouniotes, *Deltion*, VII, 1921/2, pp. 42-77. Only the eastern half of the interior of the building has been completely excavated, but soundings have made certain the general plan of the whole.

inside the east, north, and west walls. The width and height of the doors increase progressively toward the central one.<sup>262</sup> The door-sills and the whole inside face of the southern wall were reveted with thin marble slabs held in place by iron dowels.



Fig. 24. Parodos of Geronticon, Nysa,  
from west.

In the four intervals inside the doors there are ornate marble-reveted *naïskoi*.<sup>263</sup> Each of these had a low pedestal

<sup>262</sup> Width of end doors 1.50 m., height 2.70 m.; width of intermediate doors 1.95 m., height 3.20 m.; width of central door 2.25 m., height uncertain.

<sup>263</sup> The best preserved base (third from the east) is ca. 2.00 m. long, 0.85 m. wide, and 1.05 m. high.



Fig. 25. Geronticon, Nysa, from southwest.



Fig. 26. Geronticon, Nysa, from west.



supporting two small columns with a statue set between them. Fragments of the elaborate epistyle and several Corinthian capitals belonging to the *naiskoi* have been recovered. There is a marble-paved corridor *ca.* 1.50 m. wide between the *naiskoi* and the parodos walls. These walls support the wings of the auditorium proper and are built of large regular blocks with a careful base moulding, which shows that they were never reveted with marble. They end next the orchestra in pilasters, on which statues were set. At its center the corridor opens into the marble-paved orchestra, which is 0.85 m. lower than corridor level.<sup>264</sup>

The seats in the auditorium are semicircular. Twelve rows are preserved, and there may have been two more behind these. They are separated into four approximately equal wedges by five stairways. The profile of the front edge of the seats is a conscious copying of that of the Hellenic period. The base moulding of those next the stairways has the form of a lion's paw. The seats are 0.38 m. high and 0.74 m. wide. The latter dimension is divided into a seat 0.39 m. wide and a space 0.35 m. wide and depressed 0.02 m. for the feet of those in the row above. The lower benches are bedded on a solid filling of rubble and lime, while the upper ones are supported by the arched passageway. It is *ca.* 1.50 m. wide and afforded the easiest means of access to the auditorium, since there were undoubtedly stairways connecting it with the seating area above.

It is certain that the building was roofed, and the great amount of carbonized wood found in the interior proves the existence of great wooden beams. Two large iron girders found in the fill must have surrounded and reinforced the ends of such roof beams. There are no traces of interior columns to support the roof. Cuttings in some of the blocks

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<sup>264</sup> There are no traces of stairs, as in the Odeum at Ephesus, to afford communication between corridor and orchestra, and all regular access to the orchestra must have been gained by the stairways in the auditorium itself.

from the upper part of the south wall suggest that there were windows there.

*Identification.* Strabo, in his short description of Nysa, says:

Near the theater are two heights, below one of which is the gymnasium of the youths; and below the other is the market-place and the gymnasium for older persons [τὸ γεροντικόν].<sup>205</sup>

The existence of a *gerousia* (council of elders) at Nysa is proved by numerous inscriptions, and *geronticon*, a ἀπαξ λεγόμενον in Greek literature, probably means a building set aside for its use.<sup>206</sup> The building in question has been associated with this passage and, topographically speaking, it fits the description. The floor of the corridor directly behind the orchestra is raised 0.85 m. and would provide a convenient place for the speaker to stand. It is not known whether or not there was an altar in the center of the orchestra, since that part is as yet unexcavated.

Several inscriptions were found in the building. They are: (a) in situ in the third *naiskos* from the east, a dedication to Caesar Marcus Aelius Aurelius, one of the sons of Antoninus Pius, and a headless statue found just in front of this is probably his; (b) in fragments in front of the second *naiskos* from the east, a dedication to Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus; (c) scattered over the floor of the corridor, a dedication to Faustina, wife of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus; (d) near the western pilaster of the parodos wall, a dedication to Faustina, daughter of Marcus Aurelius; (e) on the

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<sup>205</sup> XIV, 1, 43 (C 649).

<sup>206</sup> Some translators take it to mean a gymnasium for elderly men (cf. Loeb translation quoted above). They apparently consider that it is referred to in contrast to the young men's gymnasium, mentioned just before. That there were gymnasia for older men is proved by Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXV, 14, 172, and Vitruvius, *op. cit.*, II, 8, 10; but they are called *gerusia* (in Latin), and there is probably a distinction in the terms. At any rate, this building is topographically the best candidate for the Geronticon mentioned by Strabo, and there is nothing gymnasium-like about it. There is, of course, the difficulty of chronology, which will be mentioned in the following section.

orchestra side of the western pilaster, a dedication to Sextus Julius Maior Antoninus Pythodorus; (f) on the eastern pilaster, a dedication to one of the family of Pythodorus. Thus, statues of Pythodorus and his family occupied the tops of the pilasters, while those of members of the family of the Emperor Antoninus Pius were placed in the *naiskoi*. Pythodorus belonged to an old and rich family of Nysa, and it is very likely that he bore the expense of erecting the building.

*Date.* The excavators are of the opinion that the *naiskoi* and statues in them were not later additions, but belong closely to the period in which the building was erected. Hence, it should date between 138 and 161 A. D. The evidence from building technique, the order, and general appearance agrees well with this date. If Strabo, in the late first century B. C., saw a building of this type beside the Agora, it must have been a predecessor of this building on or near the same site. Kourouniotes believes that there are traces of such a building in the earlier stoa built into the north wall and in other parts of the foundations, but only complete excavation would make this certain. The present building was badly gutted by fire in the late Roman period and was re-used and considerably altered in Byzantine times.

(t) *Olympia*.<sup>267</sup> (Plate VII, Fig. 27)

*Situation.* This complex is situated not far south of the temple of Zeus and just outside the Altis. A late court lies immediately to the east, and the main entrance to the Altis from the south was by its northeast corner. On the west are a few small foundations, and on the south the long South Portico.

*Description.* The complex consists essentially of two long, apsidal halls lying parallel to one another, a smaller almost

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<sup>267</sup> Dörpfeld, *Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, IV, 1878/9, pp. 40-46; *Olympia*, II (*Baudenkmäler*), pp. 76-79; Gardiner, E. N., *Olympia, Its History and Remains*, pp. 269-274; Weickert, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-68, 169. Further bibliography will be found in the two last quoted and later in this section.

square construction between them, and a narrow porch extending along the eastern ends of all three.

The south hall is the best preserved of the group, with two complete courses of massive stone blocks in place. At the front (east) is a stylobate on which are the bases for three Doric columns set symmetrically *in antis* (only the northern anta is preserved). Cuttings show that, of the four intercolumniations, the outer two were closed with grilles and the



Fig. 27. Bouleuterion, Olympia, from southeast.

inner two had metal doors. These opened into the main room which is *ca.* 22 m. long  $\times$  11 m. wide, i. e. exactly 2:1 in proportion of length to width. On its main axis are the lower drums of seven free-standing unfluted columns, almost certainly of the Doric order. They are very slim and have an axial intercolumniation of almost four lower diameters, while the intercolumniation at either end is slightly greater. A partition wall running north-south separated the apse from the main room, and a wall in line with the row of interior columns divides the apse into two small rooms with almost the form of a quarter segment of a circle. Pivot and post-

holes in the thresholds show that doors connected each of these with the main room and that there was a connecting door between them.<sup>268</sup> At one period there was also a door in the outside north wall of the main room near its west end.

This building has a peculiar ground plan, since it is not only apsidal, but is in the form of an elongated ellipse cut off at the east. The width of the main room is 11.02 m. at the east, 11.07 m. at the middle, and only 10.42 m. at the west; i. e. the long side walls have a gentle curve. This curvature is more pronounced near the west, where in the individual blocks there is an easily measurable difference between the inner and outer width. There also appears to be horizontal curvature in the building, for the corners at the east and at the west are respectively 0.04 m. and 0.06 m. below the level of the blocks in the same course at the center of the east, north, and south sides. It is impossible that these refinements can be due to chance shifting or sinking.

Some blocks of the superstructure have been recovered and show that the building was of the Doric order throughout. A triglyph frieze, with the axial width of the triglyphs somewhat greater at the front than at the sides, surrounded it. The regulae of the epistyle lacked guttae. Interesting fragments of the geison of the apse show that the viae were not bounded by parallel lines, but by radii. There are indications of the use of a considerable quantity of bright blue and red paint on the various architectural members. The roof must have been of wood, and Dörpfeld thought it was not gabled.<sup>269</sup> Certain of the wall blocks show cuttings which are believed to have been for windows.

The northern hall is much more ruinous than the south, but the two are almost identical in plan and dimensions. It

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<sup>268</sup> Dörpfeld believed that the cuttings for these doors show that there were facilities for double locking, but it is difficult to see signs of any such arrangement in those which are now visible.

<sup>269</sup> He mentioned the difficulty of the odd number of columns in front. But a fragment of a raking cornice block in terracotta has been found and associated with this building. Cf. possible association of newly-discovered pediment sculpture (*A. J. A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 483).

is not absolutely certain that the apse in the north building was divided by an east-west partition wall, but this is likely. The only important difference is that the long side walls of the north hall are not curved. They form an exact right angle with the cross-wall of the apse, and the apse itself is really semicircular, not slightly pointed like that of the south hall. The blocks in the preserved courses have wide, drafted margins, which are absent in the south hall. A late wall built nearby incorporated an anta capital and an archaic Doric column capital belonging to this building.

The construction between the two halls is *ca.* 14 m. square and is preserved only in foundations. It evidently opened to the east. In the center there is a small foundation *ca.* 1.00 m x 0.70 m. in upper area and with two courses of blocks preserved. The foundations of the outside walls are only *ca.* 0.80 m. wide, as compared with a width of *ca.* 1.40 m. in those of the halls on either side. The two short walls which join the three members of the complex along their east front are bonded into the central construction, but merely abut on the walls of the side halls.

A porch *ca.* 5 m. wide runs along the entire east front of the three buildings. Bases of a few columns in situ and marks of others on the stylobate show that there were twenty-seven columns along the front and four on each return. They were of the Ionic order, and the shafts had twenty flutings. A capital with very large volutes, as in that of the Stadium entrance, has been associated with these columns. East of this porch, a later court of somewhat irregular shape was enclosed by colonnades on the other three sides.

*Date.* The north hall is dated in the sixth century B. C. by the comparison of details of its architectural members with those of the later temple of Zeus.<sup>270</sup> By the same

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<sup>270</sup> This comparison establishes (a) the older form of the anta capital; (b) the older form of the column capital; (c) the extra high band of guttae on the architrave—an earlier characteristic; (d) a broad, smooth band marked by setting lines in the wall blocks—an early sign in this exact form. Almost all of these architectural

method, the south hall is proved to be closely contemporaneous with this temple, i. e. it dates in the first half of the fifth century B. C. Dörpfeld had no explanation for the fact that the building with the elliptical ground plan is later than that with straight sides.<sup>271</sup> Gardiner has suggested the possibility that the present south hall copied the plan of an earlier building on the same site, perhaps dating from the early sixth or the seventh century B. C. Lehmann-Hartleben favors this theory.<sup>272</sup> Weickert points out that in and near the building were found fragments of disc acroteria, which Mrs. Van Buren dates in the second half of the seventh century B. C.<sup>273</sup> These may well have belonged to an earlier elliptical building on the same site.

The square central construction, the short walls which join it to the east fronts of the two halls, and the narrow Ionic porch in front of all three are closely contemporaneous. They probably belong to a single reconstruction, but, in spite of the various architectural members built into the foundations of the porch and the known details of the order, no closer dating than the third or second century B. C. has been attempted. In Roman times a trapezoidal east court was added.

*Identification.* This rests mainly on the topographical evidence furnished by Pausanias in three incidental references he makes to the Bouleuterion at Olympia while he is

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members were found built into the walls of a Byzantine fortress, which was erected between the Zeus temple and the South Stoa and which included the Bouleuterion complex within its area. Some of the recovered parts of the epistyle have now been set up in order on the wall foundations.

<sup>271</sup> Parallels for such ground plans are the early temples at Thermum and Sparta and prehistoric domestic architecture. Elliptical plans persisted in private houses into the late prehistoric period, especially in the western Peloponnese. It seems possible that the foundations themselves in the south hall are earlier than those in the north hall, and that only the remains of the superstructure are later.

<sup>272</sup> *Gnomon*, III, 1927, pp. 391, 392.

<sup>273</sup> *Greek Pictile Revetments in the Archaic Period*, p. 181.

enumerating and describing the location of the various statues of Zeus.<sup>274</sup> In these passages there is no word of description of the Bouleuterion, but Dörpfeld was probably right in deducing from them that it lay south of the east front of the Zeus temple, and at a point where several roads came together. Also, in his description of the battle between the Eleans and the Arcadians in 364 B. C., Xenophon tells how it raged in a space between the Bouleuterion, the *hieron* of Hestia, and the Theater which was near them, and how the Arcadians were driven out by missiles thrown from the roofs of the temple of Zeus, the Bouleuterion, and other buildings.<sup>275</sup> This passage also indicates that the Bouleuterion was in the southern section and not far from the temple of Zeus.<sup>276</sup>

Dörpfeld believed that the complex of three buildings described above is the only candidate which fulfils these topographical requirements, and which is of a form that might serve the purpose of a bouleuterion. This identification has been seriously questioned by only one authority,<sup>277</sup> but much has been written about the peculiar ground plan and the use of the three divisions. It has been generally agreed that the small rooms in the apse of at least one of the halls contained the temple treasures of coin and other valuables. These cannot have been kept in the Zeus temple itself,<sup>278</sup> and, since

<sup>274</sup> V, 23, 1; V, 24, 1 and 9.

<sup>275</sup> *Hellenica*, VII, 4, 31.

<sup>276</sup> The *hieron* of Hestia should be the Prytaneum, which is situated outside the northwest corner of the Altis. The Theater has been thought to refer to the Stadium, which is some little distance outside the northeast corner of the Altis, but it may refer to the series of seats or steps formed by the extreme battering of the retaining wall just north of the Heraeum (cf. p. 67). This would fulfil to the letter Xenophon's description of it as near or next to the Prytaneum.

<sup>277</sup> Lange (*Haus und Halle*, pp. 110-120) rejects it. Also, Frazer, in his commentary on Pausanias, V, 24, 9, is somewhat sceptical.

<sup>278</sup> Mention is made of discourses held in the opisthodomus, so that it cannot have served as a treasury, as was the case in some temples. The cella is ruled out, since it, too, was open to the public.



the council had control of temple funds, the small rooms in their meeting place would have been quite appropriate for the purpose. They are small, thick-walled, and had no direct outside communication. Dörpfeld believed that extra precautions were taken in locking the doors connecting them with the main room. It is possible that these rooms were used for the storage of important documents, and of official weights which were found in the vicinity. If all four (or three) rooms were not thus employed, they would have made convenient offices.

In his first publication, Dörpfeld suggested that there was originally but one of these apsidal halls, and that the main room in it was used for the meetings of the council; that, as the business of the council increased, one building was not adequate both for the carrying on of the administration and for the meeting place of the council, and so a second similar building was erected; that the statue of Zeus Horcius, which is said by Pausanias to have stood in the Bouleuterion,<sup>279</sup> was probably housed in the central construction, although he thought the base in the center was for a roof support, and that the statue would have been nearer the back wall. But, in his final publication, he decided that the central square building must have been the auditorium of the council and the side halls the administration headquarters. He believed that the room with the one central support would serve better as a meeting place than the other buildings divided into two aisles by a central row of columns, and that it is easier to understand a doubling of administrative headquarters than of auditorium. Flasch reverted substantially to Dörpfeld's

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<sup>279</sup> V, 24, 9 and 11. He writes: "But the Zeus in the Council Chamber is of all the images of Zeus the one most likely to strike terror into the hearts of sinners. He is surnamed Oath-god, and in each hand he holds a thunderbolt. Beside this image it is the custom for athletes, their fathers and their brothers, as well as their trainers, to swear an oath upon slices of boar's flesh that in nothing will they sin against the Olympic games. . . . Before the feet of the Oath-god is a bronze plate, with elegiac verses inscribed upon it, the object of which is to strike fear into those who forswear themselves."

original opinion that one of the halls was the actual auditorium and the other the administration building, but he believed that the middle construction was unroofed and that the central base was for the statue of Zeus.<sup>280</sup> Gardiner follows the opinion of Flasch, but Lehmann-Hartleben states that neither of the long halls could possibly have been used as an auditorium, and that the central one was the Bouleuterion proper.

The central construction can hardly have been the auditorium. Its walls are so much thinner than those of the buildings on either side that it is probable that they were quite low and merely surrounded the unroofed temenos of Zeus Horcius, with his statue on the central support. Moreover, it does not date earlier than the third century B. C., while Xenophon refers to the Bouleuterion in the fourth century B. C.<sup>281</sup> On the other hand, the main room of the south hall (and presumably that in the north hall was the same), with its dimensions of exactly 1:2 and its slender columns spaced extraordinarily widely for its Doric order, could quite conceivably have been the meeting place of the council. The shape and interior arrangements can be paralleled in other buildings so identified.<sup>282</sup>

(v) *Olynthus*.<sup>283</sup> (Plate XV) See also p. 110, n. 79.

*Situation.* This building lies in the northeast section of the South Hill. Later house walls, running east-west and

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<sup>280</sup> Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, II, 1104 J, K. Wernicke (*Jahrbuch*, IX, 1894, pp. 127-135) introduced a building called the *proedria* (Pausanias, V, 15, 4), which was the meeting place of the Hellanodicae and was apparently in this general neighborhood. He reached the conclusion that the south hall was the *proedria*, the north hall the Bouleuterion proper, and the central construction a temenos of Zeus.

<sup>281</sup> Dörpfeld was driven to postulate an earlier building of exactly the same dimensions on exactly the same site, but there is no evidence of any forerunner to the central construction.

<sup>282</sup> Cf. pp. 256-280.

<sup>283</sup> Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, II, pp. 16-28, Figs. 72-83.

oriented at a slightly different angle, overlay it at the south. On the east side is a main street running along the brow of the hill, and at the north there was another street which was partly built over with private houses at a later date. Another public building, constructed of very large blocks, lies to the west, and the north walls of the two buildings are in line fronting the street. Beddings cut in the rock show the line of the east wall of this other building and prove that there was a space of *ca.* 3.75 m. between them. Twenty-two large and deep storage pits were dug in bed-rock both inside and outside the building in question, as well as in the very line of its walls.

*Description.* Its outer walls are preserved only in the lowest course or in beddings cut in the rock, and in some parts all traces have disappeared.<sup>284</sup> The outer dimensions can be fixed, however, at 33.25 m. north-south and 16.45 m. east-west. Interior walls are indicated by blocks of the lowest course which are preserved in the slightly lower eastern part. One of these cross walls runs west at a point in the east wall 6.00 m. from its north end. This partition wall is 6.45 m. long, and at its western end another line of blocks extends north at right angles for a distance of 2.42 m. Another partition wall runs westward from a point in the outside east wall 14.08 m. south of the first. It is now 8.27 m. in length, and at right angles to it are two spur walls, one running north and one south. The northern one begins at a point 4.12 m. west of the east outside wall, and is now 2.99 m. in length. The southern one begins from a point 5.57 m. west of the east outside wall, and is now 1.85 m. in

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<sup>284</sup> Blocks are preserved all along the east side (except at either extreme end), at the west end of the north wall, and *ca.* the northern third of the west wall. A heavy rubble wall, best preserved at the center, seems to have formed the southern outside wall. It is parallel to the other east-west walls of this building, and is earlier and not parallel to the house walls built over it. Rock cuttings make clear the exact line of the east wall at the north, the eastern three-quarters of the north wall, and the central part of the west wall.

length. Setting lines incised and filled with red paint are noticeable in almost all of the blocks in both outer and interior walls; they show that an orthostate course came immediately above that preserved.

There are in situ in the building four, possibly five, stone bases. One of these is in the line of the northern east-west partition wall and is separated from its western end by a gap of 1.50 m. It is 0.52 m. high and 0.66 m. x 0.52 m. on its top surface, where there are clear lines for centering a column *ca.* 0.54 m. in diameter. Three more bases are in a line running east-west *ca.* 4 m. south of the southern partition wall. One is in the exact center and measures 0.74 m. x 0.66 m. x 0.52 m. It has on its upper surface no setting lines for either a round or rectangular support. The other two are near the west outside wall, and there is a distance of *ca.* 4 m. between the easternmost of these and the central base. These are only 0.85 m. from each other, and their dimensions are somewhat less than those of the central one. They have on their upper surface red-filled setting lines which prove that above each was placed a rectangular block 0.58 m. x 0.41 m. Two blocks lying nearby exactly fill these requirements, and these must have been rectangular pillars for the support of the roof. Another block lying *ca.* 11.44 m. north of the line of these three and *ca.* 5.80 m. east of the outside west wall seems to be a base like the rest, but it is not exactly in situ.

This very incomplete and apparently complex ground plan has been tentatively reconstructed. It is reasonably sure that there was a general tripartite division of the building, i. e. that the two east-west partition walls continued to the west outside wall. Also, the main entrance was probably from the street at the north.<sup>285</sup> The small room in the northeast cor-

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<sup>285</sup> The setting lines for a continuous second wall course along the east side show that there was no entrance there. The fact that there was another building close to the west side would make it unlikely that the main entrance was situated on that side. Nothing can be said of the south side, where the very limit is uncertain, but the north side, with its wide street and another large building in line to the west, seems the most likely.

ner is certain. It was *ca.* 5.50 m. square, and in it is a cistern surrounded by a pebble mosaic decorated with a wheel pattern. Certain confused cuttings would indicate the existence of a corresponding room in the northwest corner. Two doors, one on either side of the column on the axis of the building, probably led from a vestibule into the large central division, which has been restored as a court with two north-south rows of interior columns. These columns would have been carried on the northern projection from the southern partition wall, which is presumed to have been continued as far as the northern partition wall, and on a corresponding stylobate on the west side. Thus, there would have been two covered porticos and an open central space.

Two entrances, one at either side between these rows of columns and the outside walls, are supposed to have led into the southern division.<sup>286</sup> It is *ca.* 16.10 m. x 13.20 m. in area, and in the reconstruction the roof is supported by four heavy pillars, the two in situ in the west and two others placed symmetrically in the east.<sup>287</sup> The central base belonged to some low construction, probably an altar. Another short wall is restored to correspond to that projecting south of the south partition wall, and these would form an exedra in the north wall of the room.

*Date.* The building must have been constructed after the twenty-two large storage pits had been filled and were out of use. This is proved by the fact that they actually extend as much as 0.25 m. under the blocks of the north outside wall, and one is cut directly in the line of the outside west wall and another in the line of the southern partition wall. Also,

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<sup>286</sup> It should be pointed out that there is no indication on the upper surfaces of the blocks that there was a door in the southern partition wall near its east end. Also, the northern spur wall from the southern partition shows no distinction from the other walls which would justify its being recognized as a stylobate carrying a row of columns.

<sup>287</sup> The base appearing at the east in the original plan has now disappeared.

three pits are cut directly in front of the supposed main entrance at the north, where there was certainly a street. These considerations preclude their having been in use at the same time as the building, or after it was destroyed. The pits were filled in about the end of the sixth century B. C., and the building must post-date them.

All but three of the large number of preserved blocks are clearly re-used and apparently belonged to one or more sixth century buildings. This is proved by the technique of the stone-cutting, by the fact that many have square dowel holes which have no relation to their position in this building, and especially by an inscription cut in one of them in sixth century Corinthian characters. It reads "Polyxenas" (ΠΟΛΥΞΕΝΑΣ) and probably belonged to a statue base or funerary monument of some kind. At any rate, it had nothing to do with this building, since it was under floor level. Hence, a *terminus post quem* is established at the late sixth century B. C.<sup>287a</sup>

A *terminus ante quem* is provided by the row of private houses which was built over the south end. These are not the latest of the Olynthian houses; they were in use at least by the end of the fifth century B. C. Hence, this building was probably constructed about the beginning of the fifth century B. C. and was in ruins by the end of the century. It appears that the small northeast room was used later as a well-house. The mosaic may be paralleled by that in one of the later houses, the floor is higher than that of the main building, and the whole construction is rougher. A bathtub found in the northeast corner may be connected with this later period.

*Identification.* The proximity of this construction to another large public building makes this area the nearest approach to a civic center which has so far been discovered at Olynthus. The interior arrangements and ground plan

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<sup>287a</sup> Cf. D. M. Robinson, *T. A. P. A.*, LXII, 1931, pp. 40-42; *ibid.*, LXIX, 1938, pp. 43-44.

are quite inconsistent with those of a temple, and the building is likely to have had a civic use. The restored plan, with its two small rooms suitable for offices and storage of documents, the court, and the southern room with its interior pillars, central altar, and exedra facing the altar, recalls features of known political assembly halls. Yet it must be admitted that the positive evidence for this reconstruction is far from complete. The south room with a wooden seating arrangement might have held *ca.* two hundred fifty persons.

It is likely that the great influx of population and increase of political prestige in the last quarter of the fifth century made necessary the enlargement of Olynthian civic buildings. Probably a different part of the city was chosen for these, and most of the blocks from the old buildings may have been removed for this purpose. The Corinthian inscription on one of the re-used blocks of this building points to the possibility that they were brought to Olynthus from nearby Potidaea.

(v) *Orchomenus in Arcadia*.<sup>288</sup> (Plate X, Fig. 28)

*Situation.* This building occupies the northern part of the east side of the Agora. The only contiguous building is a long stoa, which is at a higher level and almost touches its northwest corner. To the east the ground falls away steeply.

*Description.* It has the form of a stoa *ca.* 41 m. north-south and 8.20 m. east-west. The back (west) wall is particularly thick, since it also acted as a retaining wall to support the higher level of the Agora. The north and south walls are lower, and only a single course of the east wall is preserved. There is a threshold with cuttings for double doors *ca.* 3.20 m. from the south end of the west wall. There may have been another small door at the north end of the east wall, giving access to the theater section to the northeast.

On the long axis of the building there were twelve interior columns of limestone, unfluted, and with the surface left rough for the application of stucco. The lowest drums of

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<sup>288</sup> Blum and Plassart, *B. C. H.*, XXXVIII, 1914, pp. 73, 74.

most of these are in situ. The lower diameter is 0.56 m. and the intercolumniation 2.68 m. (i. e. over four and one-half lower diameters). The eastern side is supposed to have been closed by a solid wall, with windows looking out over the valley. The roof was tiled, and ridge-pole antefixes of terracotta have been found. They were decorated on both faces with stamped palmettes.<sup>280</sup>



Fig. 28. Bouleuterion, Orchomenus, from south.

*Identification.* The identification of this building as a bouleuterion is made "with reserve" by the excavators. In it they found a dozen bronze tablets inscribed in repoussé technique and bearing proxeny decrees. They were in two piles, at the foot of the west wall, and at the other side of the building. They were passed "by the council and the city," and those which can be dated belong to the third cen-

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<sup>280</sup> Near the northern end of the building there now lies an unfinished stone gutter slab. It probably fell from the stoa above, although it might belong to some contemplated repair to this building.



ture B. C. One bears a dedication to Artemis, and a similar tablet was found in her temple nearby. The excavators were disturbed by the fact that they were found lying on an earth fill *ca.* 0.12 m. above floor level. They conclude from this that they were put there after this building was no longer in use. Perhaps so; but, if stored in this building, they would hardly have been laid on the floor. There would likely have been wooden shelves for them, and they might well have fallen in this way when the shelf collapsed at a time when some debris and earth had already covered the floor. Buildings of similar plan have been identified as bouleuteria, and state documents were often stored in these edifices.

*Date.* The most useful criterion is the type of antefix, which Mrs. Van Buren dates in the fifth century B. C.<sup>200</sup> The wall construction would agree with this. The building, along with all of the others in the Agora, had gone out of use some time before Pausanias' visit to the site in the second century A. D.

(w) *Paestum.* (Figs. 29-30)

*Situation.* It lies toward the east end of the northern border of the Forum. At the west it is cut into by the temple of Peace, and a street runs along its eastern side.

*Description.* It is rectangular and at present *ca.* 31 m. north-south x 29 m. east-west, but it seems originally to have extended somewhat further toward the west. As many as seven rows of curving seats are now visible in the interior on the south and east sides. They probably extended also along the north side, opening toward the west.<sup>201</sup> The seats along the south side are cut off abruptly by the east wall of the temple of Peace, but it is clear that they originally formed more than a semicircle. Traces remain of stairways in the

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<sup>200</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 56, 163.

<sup>201</sup> The building is now so overgrown, especially at the north, that it is difficult to be sure of its general plan. I can find no formal report of its excavation.



Fig. 29. Bouleuterion, Paestum, from east.



Fig. 30. Bouleuterion, Paestum, from north.

middle of the east and south sides, and there were probably entrances to the upper part of the auditorium both from the Forum to the south and the street to the east. There may also have been access from the west and north, but, if the building was used after the construction of the temple, approach from the west would have been blocked.

*Identification.* It is identified as a bouleuterion in a recent description of the Forum,<sup>202</sup> and its situation and plan make the designation very likely.

*Date.* Maiuri states that the Greek buildings in Paestum date before the end of the fifth century B. C.<sup>203</sup> This construction appears to be Greek, and it would then be an example of the construction with which the people of Sybaris, the metropolis of Paestum,<sup>204</sup> were familiar at that period.<sup>205</sup>

(x) *Sicyon*.<sup>206</sup> (Plate XIII)

*Situation.* This, along with other public edifices, was built in the large level area which must have been the Sicy-

<sup>202</sup> Baedeker, *Italy* (1930), p. 205.

<sup>203</sup> *Art and Archaeology*, XXXII, 1931, p. 162.

<sup>204</sup> *C. A. H.*, III, p. 674. The Greek name of Paestum was Poseidonia. Sybaris had, in turn, been founded by Troezen.

<sup>205</sup> South of the rustic Theater of the Attic deme of Rhamnus are badly preserved sections of two parallel east-west rubble walls, lying at the very south side of the terrace. They are ca. 0.50 m. wide and ca. 0.20 m. apart. The floor level inside is ca. 1 m. below that of the seats of the Theater. Bulle (*Untersuchungen an griechischen Theatern*, I, p. 2; II, Pl. I) believes that they are part of a long, narrow building which bounded the open area on the south. He thinks the fact that it is on a lower level and ca. 11.40 m. south of the row of Theater seats makes it unlikely that it was a scene building, and he prefers to believe that it was a bouleuterion. But it is not even certain that it was a closed building. Even were this proved, it might still have been a scene building, since the whole Theater arrangement there is peculiar. At any rate, there is no evidence to suggest that it was a bouleuterion.

<sup>206</sup> Philadelphus, *Aroh. Eph.*, 1919, p. 99; *Deltion*, X, 1926, p. 49; *B. C. H.*, I, 1926, pp. 174-182. Orlandos has been carrying on supplementary excavations, with a view to more complete publication (cf. *A. J. A.*, XLIV, 1940, p. 538). Cf. also Skalet, *Ancient Sicyon*, pp. 19-20.

onian Agora in the Hellenistic period. No building directly contiguous to it has been discovered. The great stoa-like Gymnasium was separated from it by a road to the east, and the temple assigned to Artemis is some distance to the west. Hence, this building probably bordered the east side of the Agora.

*Description.* It is almost square in plan, measuring 40.50 m. north-south and *ca.* 39.60 m. east-west.<sup>297</sup> The outside east wall is the only one which is adequately preserved.<sup>298</sup> In the interior are bases for columns to support the roof; their arrangement makes clear that there were sixteen in all, distributed in four rows of four, with intervals of *ca.* 7.40 m. between each of the columns, and the same distance between the outer columns and the outside walls.<sup>299</sup> The lowest drums

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<sup>297</sup> The whole outside east wall is preserved in foundations, so that the north-south length is fixed. Most of the north outside wall may also be traced in its lowest course, but the northwest corner has not been located. The lines of the west and south walls seem to have entirely disappeared. Hence, Philadelphus calculated the outside east-west length at 33.25 m. and so restored the area in his published plan. But later excavation by Orlandos has revealed another column base in line with the three southernmost bases and *ca.* 6.60 m. west of the nearest of these, and it follows that there were originally three more in line to the north. Moreover, *ca.* 6.80 m. west of this line there has been discovered a rough conglomerate mass which seems to have a straight edge on the west and is possibly in the line of the west outside wall. The north outside wall extends almost this far west, but no definite corner can be seen. Thus, it is likely that the building measured 40.50 m. x *ca.* 39.60 m., and there were certainly sixteen interior columns. Orlandos reports the east-west measurement as 41.50 m.

<sup>298</sup> It is built of carefully cut poros blocks with narrow bands of drafting on three edges. Three slightly battering courses are preserved throughout. In the higher southern part these have fallen inward, but they have preserved their relative position. A water channel runs along the outside of this wall, and there was probably no entrance at this side. One can only guess that the entrance was in the west side, toward which the seats of the auditorium faced.

<sup>299</sup> The column bases are *ca.* 1.50 m. square and formed of one or two blocks with or without dowel holes. Several of them are missing, but the general scheme is clear.

of Ionic columns are in situ on the two southern bases of the outside east row.

The auditorium proper centered around the square area between the four inner columns of the two eastern rows. Tiers of seats were formed of packed earth with a thin coating of stucco, and the whole arrangement was supported by a low wall of mud-brick.<sup>300</sup> There were five rows of straight seats on the north and south sides, and six rows on the east. The length varied from 6 m. at the front to 11 m. at the back. In the rectangular space thus enclosed, two other seats of the same material were built. The outer one was horseshoe shaped with a diameter of 4.60 m., and the inner was shorter and semicircular with a diameter of *ca.* 3 m. The width of the seats varied from 0.35 m. to 0.45 m., and the height from 0.40 m. to 0.43 m.<sup>301</sup> They could have accommodated *ca.* two hundred fifty persons. The floor of the small semicircular orchestra is of smooth rock.

The area in front of the seats, between the central columns of the second and third north-south rows of columns, is bounded on the east, north, and south by a row of blocks laid between the bases.<sup>302</sup> A shallow groove 0.17 m. to 0.22 m. wide is cut in the top surface of the blocks on the north and south sides, and it would appear to have held a railing or grille.<sup>303</sup>

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<sup>300</sup> At the southwest are a couple of stone blocks which may have formed part of a retaining wall at this end of the arrangement, and there may be others now covered with earth. Two seats of stone, like those in the Theater, are associated with an earlier phase of this building. It is difficult, however, to understand the reason for replacing stone seats with seats of packed earth.

<sup>301</sup> All of these measurements depend on dimensions noted by Philadelphus when the seats were newly uncovered. Unfortunately, they are now so much eroded as to be almost indistinguishable, although the general outline of the five seats on the south side and the horseshoe shaped inner bench can still be seen.

<sup>302</sup> The area on the west side has apparently not been entirely excavated, but it seems unlikely that there was a similar line of blocks there.

<sup>303</sup> Philadelphus says there were holes at intervals, but none are

Two identical reservoirs or basins are set symmetrically immediately east of the two outer column bases in the second from the east of the north-south lines of columns.<sup>304</sup> There were traces of a brick wall which passed just inside these reservoirs and cut them off from the area of the auditorium proper. The building must have been roofed to protect the friable seating arrangement, and roof tiles have been found in the fill.

*Identification.* Pausanias, in his description of the Agora of Sicyon, says:

Here too stand their council-chamber and a portico called Cleisthenian, from the name of him who built it.<sup>305</sup>

He mentions several other buildings nearby, but, since none of the foundations uncovered has been certainly identified independently, it is difficult to make use of his description. The large building near that in question has been called the Stoa of Cleisthenes,<sup>306</sup> but it resembles a gymnasium, such as is later mentioned in Pausanias' description, rather than a stoa. The identification of this building as the Bouleuterion must rest mainly on the evidence of the ground plan and its similarity to such buildings as the Ecclesiasterion at Priene. The connection of the reservoirs and the careful water supply is not obvious, and they probably belong to a later period. The fact that the seating arrangement was not then destroyed points to its having still been in use as an auditorium.

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now visible. The blocks are rather rough and are below the level of the column bases, so that it is likely that they were below floor level and hidden from sight.

<sup>304</sup> They are *ca.* 1.35 m. wide, *ca.* 2.77 m. long, and *ca.* 0.95 m. deep. At the narrow east end is a step 0.50 m. wide and 0.22 m. below the top of the reservoirs. At one end of the step a narrow conduit leads in from the east. In a corner of the bottoms of the reservoirs is a settling basin. The water came from a large reserve basin at the base of the Acropolis.

<sup>305</sup> II, 9, 6 and 7.

<sup>306</sup> Its identification has been based mainly on the assumption that this is the Bouleuterion, and so one cannot use the argument the other way around, as Philadelphus seems to do.

*Date.* This building belongs to the new city which was established further inland by Demetrius Poliorcetes.<sup>307</sup> Hence, it cannot be earlier than the fourth century B. C. The building technique fixes it satisfactorily in the late fourth or early third century B. C. The stucco and rubble in the reservoirs is rather coarse,<sup>308</sup> and it appears to be later.<sup>309</sup>

(y) *Thasos*.<sup>310</sup> (Plate XI)

*Situation.* This building lies considerably southeast of the Agora and the complex of public edifices in that section. It is not far inside (north) of the city wall, near the gate of Zeus. There were doubtless other public buildings in the immediate vicinity, but little excavation has been done there.

<sup>307</sup> Cf. Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 25, 2.

<sup>308</sup> *Ca.* 0.35 m. thick. It is said that the stucco which covered the seats was the same as that on the reservoirs. This cannot now be checked, but the thickness of that on the seats is reported as only 0.11 m. to 0.015 m.

<sup>309</sup> Wiegand, in publishing the Ecclesiasterion at Priene, refers to a building of the same type at Termessus. Lanckoronski (*Städte Pamphylens und Pisidiens*, pp. 43, 98-100, Fig. 58) calls it an odeum. It is *ca.* 24 m. square and apparently quite well preserved, with walls standing up to the roof. There are windows in at least two sides, and the rows of seats (seventeen in the plan) follow the arc of a very large circle. The main entrance seems to have been from the back of the building. Some excavation was carried on inside, and they "sought in vain for a stage for the actors." It is peculiar that all traces of the stage should have vanished, when the rest of the building is so well preserved. If it had no stage, it can hardly have been an odeum, and it may well have been a bouleuterion. The seating capacity was *ca.* six hundred persons. It was built in the first century B. C. Lanckoronski compares it to another building found at Cretopolis; this he also calls an odeum. It is smaller but similar in plan, and it might have held *ca.* two hundred fifty. Its interior arrangement has not been completely investigated.

<sup>310</sup> Picard, *C. R. A. I.*, 1913, pp. 368-373; *ibid.*, 1914, pp. 283-285; *B. C. H.*, LVII, 1933, pp. 286, 287. The building has been covered again, and only a few architectural pieces and fragments of inscriptions in the Museum can now be studied. Cf. also *B. C. H.*, LII, 1928, p. 492; P. W., X, 1326 (plan).

*Description.* In plan it is a large square 32 m. x 31.80 m., with heavy well-built outer walls. Around it run the three false steps of a marble *krepis*. In the middle of the north side is a marble-paved porch *ca.* 18 m. long and projecting 7.75 m. from the line of the main wall. It has five marble steps, only two of which return at the sides as far as the main wall. The others end against two ramps which provided lateral access from the east and west. On the stylobate of the porch six Doric columns were set in a prostyle arrangement. The lower drums of the columns are in situ, and the complete scheme of the epistyle can be reconstructed from the fallen blocks. It was of the Doric order on the exterior and carried Ionic mouldings and three fasciae on the interior. One complete and two half triglyphs adorned each intercolumniation. The architrave carried a monumental inscription, of which several fragments have been found.

The north wall of the building is so badly destroyed at the center that the number of doors which gave access from the porch to the interior cannot be determined. There was apparently a secondary arched entrance in the south side. The interior of the building was paved with marble. The excavators discovered the bases of twelve free-standing columns, in a full peristyle arrangement, parallel to all four outer walls and *ca.* 8 m. from them. It is calculated that there were originally sixteen of these columns, five to a side counting the corner columns twice. Thus, they would have formed a full portico surrounding a free space *ca.* 15 m. square. The discovery here of two Ionic column bases, Ionic column capitals, unfluted column drums, and Ionic frieze blocks shows the nature of the interior order. It is believed that these columns supported a central roof that was separate and raised above that of the side colonnades, forming a sort of clerestory. Fragments of sima blocks with lion's head water spouts, antefixes, roof tiles, and some pieces from statues forming the acroteria were found in and around the building. A male torso was also discovered.



*Date.* The abundance of preserved architectural members has allowed the excavators to date this building securely in the third century B. C.

*Identification.* The excavators have designated this building as a bouleuterion or hypostyle hall, and they favor the first suggestion more strongly in each successive report. Their identification is based on the similarity in plan and name of dedicator to the Thersilium at Megalopolis, and on the discovery in this building of several inscriptions of a political nature.

The dedication on the architrave was *ca.* thirty-five letters in length and began ΘΕΡΞΙΛΑΟ.<sup>311</sup> A formula such as "Thersilochus, the son of . . . dedicated [this building] to the People" (Θερσίλο[χος τοῦ δαῖνος τῷ Δήμῳ] ἀ[νέθηκεν]) is likely.<sup>312</sup> In that case, the father's name would contain *ca.* nine letters. In a list of Thasian *theoroi*, there occurs a certain "Thersilochus, son of Orthomenes" (Θερσίλοχος Ὀρθομένου), and Picard proposes to substitute Ὀρθομένου as the patronymic in this dedication.<sup>313</sup> But, according to Friedrich, the *theoroi* list dates no earlier than the late first century B. C., whereas this building is considerably earlier. It is possible that this man might have borne the expense of repairs to the building in the first century B. C. and had the inscription cut on the architrave, but the forms of the few letters which survive appear to be earlier.

The surviving section of this dedicatory inscription cannot be used as evidence for the identification of the building. The similarity in the name of the supposed dedicator with the Thersilius who dedicated the great Assembly Hall at Megalopolis is almost certainly pure coincidence. The in-

<sup>311</sup> The report speaks as if there were other fragments, of which this was the most important. In the Museum at Thasos there are to be seen only two battered fragments, one containing <| and the other Λ^, with the join between them not clear.

<sup>312</sup> Apparently, two other fragments containing the letters *θερ* and *α* were also discovered.

<sup>313</sup> *I. G.*, XII (8), 292, col. C, l. 24.

scriptions found in it are useful indications, but the ground plan is a more cogent argument, since the disposition of the columns is somewhat like that of known assembly halls.

(z) *Thermum*.<sup>814</sup> (Plate XI)

*Situation.* The building in question lies in the Agora, slightly to the south of the stoas on the east and west sides and just inside the third century B. C. peribolus wall.

*Description.* It is a rectangular building *ca.* 26 m. east-west and 20 m. north-south. The stone foundation of the outside walls is *ca.* 0.70 m. wide, and there are three false steps of the *krepis*. This foundation could not have carried a stone superstructure or columns, since it is not horizontal. In a distance of 14.70 m. it slopes gradually upward and is 0.45 m. higher at one end than at the other. In all likelihood the superstructure was of wood, which is a common feature of Aetolian buildings of all periods.

In the center of the north side is a porch *ca.* 12 m. long and projecting *ca.* 5 m. from the main outside wall. It has three steps leading up to it and returning on the sides. The central of these is wider than the other two. In front of this porch there is a row of statue bases and stele beddings. The interior of the building has not yet been examined.

*Identification.* Rhomaïos believes that this is the Ecclesiasterion or Bouleuterion of the Aetolian league. It is known that this league held one of its yearly meetings at Thermum and that this city was the center of the federal government.<sup>815</sup> Since it could not have accommodated the whole voting assembly of the league, it can scarcely have been called an ecclesiasterion, but it might have held the council. The exact number of members in this body is not certain, but there may have been over five hundred fifty. This structure is very similar in form to that identified as a bouleuterion at Thasos, and its location is in favor of the identification.

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<sup>814</sup> Rhomaïos, *Praktika*, 1931, pp. 66-69.

<sup>815</sup> Cf. 103, 104.

*Date.* This building, along with the stoas and peribolus wall, is said to date in the third century B. C.<sup>816</sup>

(a<sup>1</sup>) *Troy*.<sup>817</sup> (Plate XVI)

*Situation.* The building in question, sometimes called Theater B, lies on the southeast slope of the hill just outside the wall of Troy VI. Slightly to the east are the contemporaneous Athena precinct and the South Stoa, while Theater C lies somewhat north of it.

*Description.* It is rectangular, *ca.* 29 m. north-south and 26 m. east-west.<sup>818</sup> It is divided into a forehall *ca.* 6.50 m. wide, which extends along the whole western front, and an auditorium behind. Dörpfeld believed that the width of the west (front) wall of the forehall indicates that it was open, and he restored a row of ten columns.<sup>819</sup> Access from the forehall to the auditorium was provided by two entrances set symmetrically toward the center of the partition wall. Each is *ca.* 1.23 m. wide. They are *ca.* 4.20 m. apart and were provided with double doors. It is likely that there was at least one entrance leading directly to the upper seats of the auditorium through the back (east) wall, although no trace of such access is now preserved.

The two entrances from the forehall lead directly into the orchestra, which is somewhat more than a semicircle. It was paved with slabs of bright-colored marble, and at its center

<sup>816</sup> Bulle (*Orchomenos*, p. 49) advances the theory that one of the very early apsidal buildings on this site was a bouleuterion. There is absolutely no evidence for such an identification (cf. pp. 270, 271).

<sup>817</sup> Dörpfeld, *Troja und Ilion*, pp. 230-234.

<sup>818</sup> Dörpfeld's excavation failed to locate definitely the line of the south wall and did not follow out that of the north one. The Americans have since cleared the whole of the north wall and located the southeast corner.

<sup>819</sup> There is a clear threshold block in the northern return of the forehall. This would seem to be superfluous if the whole front façade of the portico had been open. Perhaps it was re-used as a wall block, although the careful work throughout the building makes this unlikely. It may belong to a later period of use.

was found the profiled base of an altar *ca.* 1.30 m. x 1.00 m. in dimensions. At the back (west) against the wall between the two entrances, there was a small platform or podium *ca.* 3 m. long and 1 m. wide. It was reached by a single step from the level of the orchestra. In front of it were three small *naiskoi*, each decorated with two very small columns; in these, statues were probably set. They were separated by two small doors leading from the orchestra to the platform.

The curving seats of the auditorium were divided into three wedges by four stairways. The central of the wedges is considerably larger than those at the sides. It is calculated that there were originally fifteen rows of seats.<sup>320</sup> The lowest row is of marble, while those above it are of poros. The quality of the poros varies, being white in the lower rows and dark in the upper ones. The seats are *ca.* 0.36 m. high and have a seat width of 0.185 m. and 0.375 m. foot-room behind. The building was certainly roofed, but no mention is made of any trace of interior supports. Several inscriptions were found during its excavation.

*Identification.* It is apparently either an odeum or a bouleuterion. Dörpfeld favored the second designation, partly because this building was not provided with a true stage, which is a necessity in an odeum, and also because of its similarity to the Ecclesiasterion at Priene. The absence of a stage and the substitution of a platform so obviously suited to the needs of a speaker is strong proof of the political purpose of the building. The political nature of the inscriptions found in it is another indication.

*Date.* This building belongs to Troy IX, the period of Roman occupation of the site. The deep foundation walls of white poros blocks are contemporaneous with the foundations at the east and south of the Athena precinct. Thus, it dates in the early years of the first century A. D. The inscriptions found in it are of the time of Augustus and Tiberius and tend to confirm this date.

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<sup>320</sup> Not more than eight can now be seen.

## CHAPTER VII

### COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this chapter is primarily to discuss in detail the material contained in the catalogue in Chapter VI, to compare every aspect of these buildings, and to establish as far as possible their main types and characteristics. Some general discussion of the material in the earlier sections has been undertaken in previous chapters, but certain items which have been established in those sections have to be reconsidered here.

The general discussion of these assembly halls has been divided into eight convenient sub-headings.

#### A. *Situation.* Vitruvius prescribed:

The treasury, prison, and curia [bouleuterion] ought to adjoin the forum [agora].<sup>1</sup>

It is quite clear that he was merely articulating a rule well established in both Greek and Roman cities.<sup>2</sup> Among sev-

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<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, V, 2. The whole of his rather detailed pronouncement will be quoted here in the original, and it will be considered by sections in the following pages. "Aerarium, carcer, curia foro sunt coniungenda, sed ita ut magnitudo <ac> symmetriae eorum foro respondeant. Maxime quidem curia in primis est facienda ad dignitatem municipii sive civitatis. Et si quadrata erit, quantum habuerit latitudinis dimidia addita constituatur altitudo; sin autem oblonga fuerit, longitudo et latitudo componantur, et, summa composita, eius dimidia pars sub lacunariis altitudini detur. Praeterea praecingendi sunt parietes medii coronis ex intestino opere aut albario ad dimidiam partem altitudinis. Quae si non erunt, vox ibi disputantium elata in altitudinem intellectui non poterit esse audientibus. Cum autem coronis praecincti parietes erunt, vox ab imis morata, priusquam in aere elata dissipabitur, auribus erit intellecta."

<sup>2</sup> It must be clearly understood that the principles of Vitruvius were in general the practice, rather than the precept, of ancient

eral specific literary references to the situation of the bouleuterion<sup>3</sup> in various Greek cities, there is only one exception to the rule that they adjoin the agora. Thus, the buildings in Hyamopolis, Magnesia on the Maeander, Megalopolis, Sparta, and Syracuse are stated to have been in or bordering the agora, and a similar position is implied for several others. As for the actual foundations of the buildings, those at Aegae, Assos, Athens, Calauria, Corinth, Heraclea, Mantinea, Miletus, Notium, Nysa, Orchomenus, Priene, Sicyon, and Thermum bordered the agora in their respective cities. They were usually entered directly from the agora, although occasionally, as at Heraclea, one had to leave the agora before entering the bouleuterion. In no known case were they situated in the center of the enclosed space of the agora, as temples sometimes were, and the expression "in the agora," which is used by several ancient authors, probably should be understood to mean "bordering on the agora."<sup>4</sup> The bouleuterion was one of the regular civic buildings situated around the edge of the open square or agora in almost every Greek city or town.<sup>5</sup>

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architectural usage. Some early and great planners like Hippodamus undoubtedly did much to set the trends in such matters as these, but it was mostly the result of gradual development and imperceptible canonization. Hence, Vitruvius in the main lays down as a rule what was already accepted as such. Also, it must be remembered that he was a Roman and that, although he knew well Greek architecture and architectural treatises in Greek, he was most familiar with Roman or Græco-Roman monuments.

<sup>3</sup> Throughout this chapter, for the sake of convenience, references to all of the closed and roofed political assembly places will be made under the name "bouleuterion."

<sup>4</sup> Thus, Curtius is probably wrong in his reconstruction of the Agora at Megalopolis, when he places the city Bouleuterion inside the Agora square (cf. p. 151).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the city plans of Priene (*Priene*, Pl. XIII) although there the Ecclesiasterion was entered from the Agora through an intermediate stoa), Miletus (*Milet*, I, 7, Fig. 1), Assos (*Excavations at Assos*, p. 33, Fig. 4), Mantinea (Frazer and van Buren, *Maps and Plans*, p. 115).

But there are a few clearly exceptional cases where the bouleuterion did not border the agora. That in Elis was built inside a gymnasium which was somewhat removed from the Agora.<sup>6</sup> Pausanias, however, specifies that the Agora of Elis was of the old type, with stoas separated from one another and streets running between. The city apparently had no single square on which the civic buildings faced. There is no known parallel for the building of a bouleuterion inside a gymnasium, and the purpose of such a situation is not certain. But Pausanias mentions that this gymnasium was reserved for the ephebes, and he also says that in the Bouleuterion exhibitions of public speaking and written compositions took place. This Bouleuterion had apparently become primarily a sort of school auditorium, as was often the case in the later period. It may have taken the place of, or existed by the side of the well-known schoolroom adjunct of many gymnasia. Thus, the young men could have exercised, studied, and practiced public speaking within the confines of one building complex.<sup>7</sup>

Other known exceptions to the rule as to situation are the buildings at Delos (both Ecclesiasterion and Bouleuterion), Delphi, Eleusis, and Olympia. The situation in the last three cases may be readily explained, for they were not ordinary cities, but rather a group of buildings which had grown up about a famous cult spot. They had no true agora; hence, the bouleuterion was built wherever convenience dictated. At Delos there was a commercial district as well as a famous shrine, but the Bouleuterion (and perhaps the Ecclesiasterion also) was connected more closely with the religious than with the civic administration and so would naturally be placed close to the religious center, the temple of Apollo. The link of the Bouleuterion with the cult center at Delos and

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. p. 150.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. a large square room with four interior supports placed in the :: form, which formed part of the gymnasium at Nemea (*A. J. A.*, XXXI, 1927, pp. 430, 431). The Bouleuterion at Elis may have had a somewhat similar plan (cf. pp. 267, 268).

Delphi was the storing in it of the temple archives, and at Olympia presumably the temple treasure also was kept there. Hence, a site near the temples was naturally chosen.

The Thersilium and Agora at Megalopolis were built on opposite banks of the river. But the Thersilium was the meeting place of the whole Arcadian league, not a local civic building. On the other hand, the city Bouleuterion of Megalopolis was situated in the Agora. Moreover, the Thersilium formed a unit with the Theater. Its great size would have disturbed the Agora's symmetry, which depended on the general effect of long, relatively narrow porticos surrounding the open space.

These are the main exceptions to the rule that the bouleuterion bordered the agora, and all can be satisfactorily explained. In several instances the whole site has not been sufficiently explored to ascertain the exact relation of the bouleuterion to the agora. In the case of several out-door assembly places, the position somewhat remote from the agora is explained by a desire to avoid disturbance. This drawback did not exist in the closed and roofed buildings.

Vitruvius' further provision that the prison and treasury should be situated beside the bouleuterion is borne out by very little positive evidence for Greek sites. It has been conjectured that a building with underground rooms lying just to the south of the Bouleuterion at Assos was a prison. There is also some reason to believe that state funds and valuables were actually kept in bouleuteria, at least at Olympia and Miletus. Certainly, many of the financial transactions of the state and trials of political prisoners took place in the bouleuterion, and it would have been convenient to have nearby the buildings involved. Perhaps certain unidentified buildings situated near some of the bouleuteria should be considered as possible treasuries or prisons.

#### *B. Proportions.* Vitruvius also prescribes:

Let them [the prison, treasury, and bouleuterion] be constructed in such a way that their dimensions will be proportionate to those



of the agora. In particular, the bouleuterion should be constructed with special regard for the importance of the town or city.

It is difficult to reach a conclusion as to how closely the Greeks obeyed such a rule. The first part, i. e. that the size of the bouleuterion should be proportionate to the size of the agora, was generally followed almost instinctively by Greek architects. The second provision, i. e. that the size of the bouleuterion should be proportionate to that of the city, does not appear to have been so closely followed. But there is, on the whole, a fairly regular correspondence between the population and importance of the various cities and the size of their bouleuteria. A noticeable feature in this regard is that cities of moderate size, such as Heraclea, Messene, Thermum, Notium, Troy, and Nysa, had a very uniform shape and size of bouleuterion, approximating 26 m. x 20 m. = 520 sq. m. It seems likely, however, that the cities usually considered practical needs when erecting these buildings. If they had a large council and a populace which was free to attend its meetings and took advantage of the liberty, they would have had to build a large council house. Thus, a small city might have a large council and need a large bouleuterion, while a large city might have quite a limited council and so would not need a large building to accommodate it. Also, financial and other considerations must often have played their part in the planning of such edifices.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> E. g., the New Bouleuterion at Athens was built between the Old Bouleuterion and the Colonus Agoraeus, and its small size and certain other unusual features were no doubt dictated by a desire to cut away as little as possible of the rock of the hill, for rock cutting is an expensive process. Perhaps the most outstanding exceptions to Vitruvius' pronouncement about proportion of size of bouleuterion to size of city are in the cases of Athens and Sicyon. The population of Athenian citizens has been calculated as *ca.* 40,000 in the fifth century B. C., and she was the most important state in Greece; yet the area of her Bouleuterion was only *ca.* 396 sq. m. The Bouleuterion of Sicyon, whose population was between 5,000 and 10,000 in the fourth century B. C. and whose importance was not nearly so great, comprised within its walls an area of *ca.* 1320 sq. m. But

C. *Types of Ground Plan.*<sup>9</sup> Vitruvius says:

If the bouleuterion is square [quadrata], let its height be fixed at one and one-half times its breadth; but if it is broad [oblonga], let the height up to the coffered ceiling be fixed at one-half of the length and breadth.

Thus, he distinguishes between two types of ground plan. A study of Table III (pp. 286-289) will show that, among extant buildings which have been identified as bouleuteria, the ground plans of all but two are rectangular.<sup>10</sup> They may be arranged, according to their proportions, in three classes: square, broad, narrow. "Square" has been considered to refer to the shape of those buildings whose length and breadth are within one meter of being equal, "broad" to those whose proportion of breadth to length is at least as close as 2:3, and "narrow" to those whose length is at least twice their breadth. The group with square ground plan includes the Old Bouleuterion at Athens, and the buildings at Lousoi, Thasos, Priene, Assos, Sicyon, and probably Aegae; that with broad ground plan comprises the New Bouleuterion at Athens, and the buildings at Olynthus, Megalopolis, Heraclea, Eleusis, Messene, Thermum, Notium, Nysa, Miletus, Delos (Ecclesiasterion of Period 5), Troy, Apollonia, and probably Paestum; that with narrow ground plan takes in the buildings at Olympia, Delphi, Orchomenus, Delos (Bouleuterion and Ecclesiasterion of Period 2), Mantinea, Olynthus (North Hill) and Calauria.

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the actual seating capacity of the building at Sicyon was rather small (about half that of the Athenian building), and, moreover, the numbers involved in the administrative machinery at Sicyon may have been proportionately greater.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. especially Leroux, *L'Origine de l'Édifice Hypostyle*, pp. 71-78 (Olympia Bouleuterion), pp. 188-190 (Phocicon), pp. 203, 204 (Thersilion), pp. 259, 260 (Notium, Priene, and Miletus); Lange, *Haus und Halle*, pp. 110-120, supplement I, pp. 329-331; Robertson, *The Architecture of Greece and Rome*, pp. 174-180.

<sup>10</sup> These are the buildings at Olympia and Corinth. The one is among the earliest and the other among the latest of these edifices, and their unusual plans are clearly exceptional and unrelated.

It is clear that Vitruvius was referring to the first and second types when he used the words *quadrata* and *oblonga* to describe the ground plans of the bouleuteria of his day, since the proportions of height to ground dimensions which he prescribes for his *oblonga* type are quite impossible for the long, narrow, stoa-like plan (type 3 in the above classification). The data in the accompanying table confirm this conclusion, since it appears that from the sixth to about the end of the fourth or the beginning of the third century B. C. the narrow plan is just as common as the square or broad plan, but after the third century B. C. there is not a single known instance of the erection of a building with narrow plan.<sup>11</sup>

(1) *Narrow Buildings and Their Interior Arrangements.* Eight <sup>11a</sup> of these narrow, stoa-like buildings are known. Five of them—the two halls at Olympia, those at Orchomenus, Delos (Bouleuterion), and Calauria—had a single row of columns on the long axis. Of the remaining three, the building at Mantinea apparently had no interior columns,<sup>12</sup> the Ecclesiasterion at Delos (Period 2) is supposed to have had pilasters against the inner face of the outside wall, while the interior arrangement of the building at Delphi is uncertain.<sup>13</sup> The buildings at Calauria and Mantinea have projecting wings at either end, and in the former these were partitioned

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<sup>11</sup> If the Phocicon, which is probably to be dated at the beginning of the second century B. C., had a single row of columns on its main axis, this would show that the narrow type persisted to a somewhat later date than is otherwise indicated (cf. pp. 261, 262).

<sup>11a</sup> The fifth century stoa-like building at Olynthus would make nine. Cf. p. 110, n. 79.

<sup>12</sup> It may be that in Period 1, before this stoa was doubled, there was a row of columns on the main axis to carry the weight of the main beam of a gabled roof. With the doubling of the building in Period 2, the roof would probably have been changed, and the solid back wall of the earlier stoa would have borne the weight of the central beam of a gabled roof.

<sup>13</sup> It is possible that it had a central row of columns on the main axis to support a gabled roof. But very narrow buildings could at an early period dispense with interior supports for the roof.

off and each divided into three small rooms. The Bouleuterion at Delos was divided into a large and a small room by a single partition wall, and the apses of the Olympia halls were partitioned off from the main parts and each divided into two small rooms by a second wall. There were, apparently, no inner partition walls in the buildings at Delphi, Delos (Ecclesiasterion), Mantinea (Period 1), and Orchomenus.

The buildings at Olympia, Delphi, and Delos certainly had solid walls on all sides; that at Orchomenus is thought to have been completely closed; in those at Calauria and Mantinea the wall on the long front side was replaced by a row of columns. The entrances to the closed buildings were variously arranged. Of the four intercolumniations in the one short end wall of the Olympia halls, the outer two were closed by grilles and the inner two by doors. In the Bouleuterion (and probably in the Ecclesiasterion) at Delos, two doors were set symmetrically in one of the long walls. There was a single door situated near one end of the long back wall in the Orchomenus building; in that at Delphi the position of the entrance is not certain. Probably the majority of the intercolumniations in the two open buildings were closed with grilles of some sort.

The first and most important question to answer in regard to this group is whether a building of the stoa type, in almost every case with a row of columns on the main axis, could possibly have accommodated the formal sessions of a political council. The excavators who have identified these buildings as bouleuteria have either evaded this issue completely, or else, after stating the grounds for the particular identification, they have said in effect that, since one of the halls in the Olympia complex was the actual auditorium where a council held its sessions, buildings of similar plan could also have been used for this purpose. On the other hand, some authorities have categorically denied the possibility. Lange felt this so strongly that he rejected the accepted identification of the Bouleuterion at Olympia and fixed on an alto-

gether different building.<sup>14</sup> Lehmann-Hartleben has stated that neither of the apsidal halls at Olympia could ever have been used as an auditorium.<sup>15</sup> At first glance, such contentions seem to be justified, and it must be admitted that, with the exception of the building at Delphi where the existence of interior columns is not certain, none of the buildings in this group can be identified with absolute certainty as a bouleuterion. But the very fact that there are in various cities eight such constructions, for each of which there is some reason for this identification, makes it necessary to study the group closely before passing judgment.

The weightiest point in their favor is that there is literary proof that political councils in Greek cities did sometimes meet in stoas. The Royal Stoa in Athens is known to have been the scene of meetings of the council of the Areopagus. In the excavation of the Athenian Agora the remains of this building have been satisfactorily identified,<sup>16</sup> and its plan proves to be very similar to that of the Calauria building, with projecting wings and a row of columns on the main axis. Also, the Theban city council is known to have held meetings in a stoa.<sup>17</sup>

Furthermore, a row of columns on the main axis was structurally much the most economical and satisfactory method of supporting a gabled roof in such a building, and in the Hellenic period all roofed buildings of any considerable size had to be provided with some kind of interior roof supports.<sup>18</sup> This arrangement of the supports always remained the most common in stoas, and was used in several temples even as late as the fourth century B. C. To be sure, a central row of columns in bouleuteria of this type would have prevented some of the councillors from seeing the speak-

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<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 110-120.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. pp. 228, 231.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, Pl. II. Attempts to disprove this identification are unconvincing. For the literary references, cf. p. 130.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. p. 154.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Leroux, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

ers, although attention should be called to the unusually wide intercolumniations in several of these cases. But they could have heard the proceedings well enough, and this was the most important consideration. As a matter of fact, a greater percentage of those present could have seen the proceedings in these buildings than in the Telesterium at Eleusis, where the whole effect depended on seeing what was enacted at the center. The Greeks were hampered by a certain conservatism, by the lack of material such as concrete, and by the slowness of their architects in developing the principles of trusses and braces to support a roof over a large area without supplementary interior columns; they had to be content with what was practicable at the time.

The seating arrangement in such buildings was probably simple, and the scheme must have varied in accordance with the situation of the entrances and other necessary considerations. Movable wooden benches were probably used, and any reconstruction of their disposition must be quite problematical. They may in some cases have been set in rows at right angles to the main axis, and on only one side of the central row of columns. The speaker would have stood at one end of the aisle on a wooden platform, so that those at the back might see more easily. With such an arrangement, one of the Olympia halls would have allowed over one hundred fifty persons to be seated and to see all the proceedings. Others could have stood or sat in the other half, and many would have been able to see through the intercolumniations.

Again, in the case of the buildings at Olympia where the exact spacing of the columns is known, it is noticeable that the intercolumniation is considerably greater at either end. If the speaker had stood near the wall at the center of the west end, he could have been seen by at least 75% of an audience seated on benches extending right across the width of the hall, for it must be remembered that the columns would not have proved as great an obstacle to vision as the size of their bases would suggest.

One other possible seating arrangement should be consid-

ered. Benches might have been placed lengthwise parallel to the main axis on one side of the central row of columns, and perhaps in part of the other side. The speaker, standing at the center near one of the long walls, could then have been seen by the majority of his audience. In the south hall at Olympia, two cross walls which run from the outside walls to the columns at the center, although in their present form they are said to be late, might have formed the west end of rows of benches arranged in such a manner.

Only in the closed buildings of the group is it at all likely that there was any permanent arrangement of seats. They were apparently of wood in every case, and this, together with the plan of the buildings, leaves no doubt that the scheme would have been rectilinear. They were probably built on the one level, although rising tiers might have been used.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Rising tiers of seats seem to be indicated by the use of the word *αναβασμοί* in Pausanias' description of the Phocicon. The use of wooden grandstands at an early period suggests that they might before long have built these inside a roofed construction, and there were almost certainly wooden prototypes for the rectilinear scheme of stone seats, such as in the Ecclesiasterion at Priene.

Attention should be called to the recent excavation of the Anactoron or Hall of the Mysteries on Samothrace (Lehmann-Hartleben, *A. J. A.*, XLIV, 1940, pp. 328-336, Fig. 3). The interior arrangements there are remarkably well preserved, and careful investigation has made the seating system quite clear. The building is rectangular, 28.72 m. x 13.30 m., and four pairs of broad rectangular pillars projecting inward from the side walls divided the interior into five bays. These piers were the only roof supports, so that the unsupported span was 11.60 m.—a remarkable one for so early a period (*ca.* 500 B.C.). The floor was of stamped earth throughout the history of the building, and there were three entrances in the western long side. The floor level in the central part was sunk, and there was a kind of low platform at the north and south end. The northern platform was later walled off from the rest of the building, and in Hellenistic times a sloping earth floor replaced the platform in the southern section. Stone bases are preserved which show that they supported a wooden grandstand along the northern and eastern walls. A circular wooden platform then occupied the center of the auditorium.

Pausanias describes the interior arrangement of an assembly hall of either the narrow or broad type, and his description is of considerable importance, since it is the only ancient account of its kind. He says of it:

On the straight road to Delphi, as one turns upward from Daulis and proceeds forward, there is on the left of the road a building called the Phocicon, to which the Phocians assemble from every city. The building is large in size, and within are columns set along its length [κατὰ μῆκος]. Tiers of seats [ἀναβασμοί] stretch from the columns to either [ἐκάτερον] wall, and on these the Phocian delegates are seated. Toward the far end there are neither columns nor benches, but a statue of Zeus and of Athena and of Hera. That of Zeus is on a throne, with the others one on either side, the Athena standing on the left.<sup>20</sup>

It is obvious from this description that the building was longer than wide, and that the entrance was at one of the short ends. Unfortunately, Pausanias does not specify how many rows of columns ran the length of the building. Lange and Leroux take it for granted that there must have been two rows, forming a nave and two aisles. The nave would have been free, and the aisles would have contained the seats, with a statue at the far end of each of the three divisions. This might appear at first glance to be the most satisfactory arrangement. But one difficulty is that in no extant building identified as a political meeting place is there a similar ground plan. None of the supposed parallels has any validity,<sup>21</sup> and it must be admitted that, if the Phocicon was di-

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<sup>20</sup> X, 5, 1 and 2.

<sup>21</sup> Lange introduces the Hellanodiceum in Elis, but its plan is uncertain; it was not, in any case, an assembly place, but only the living quarters of the Hellanodicae. He also reverses the identification of the Bouleuterion and the workshop of Pheidias at Olympia, to prove that the three-aisled type of assembly hall was common. Leroux is troubled by the lack of parallels in extant buildings but compares the plan of the Phocicon with that of the Bouleuterion at Aegae. In the only published account and plan of this building which I can find, there is no information concerning the interior arrangement.



vided into a nave and two aisles, it is unique in plan among known political assembly halls.

Hence, the possibility should be considered that it had but a single row of columns on the main axis, and tiers of seats set at right angles to the main axis and extending from near the columns to the walls at either side. Circulation could have been provided by a narrow space left at the center on either side of the columns. Since it is specified that there were no columns at the far end, the greater part of the audience could have seen a speaker standing near the statues there. Indeed, it is apparent that this arrangement would have been more satisfactory than if there had been a double row of columns and the seats had been set parallel to the main axis. With the latter plan, the speaker would presumably have stood in the middle of the central nave, and would have had his back to one half of his audience (cf. reconstructions of both schemes on Plate XVII).<sup>22</sup> Certainty cannot now be attained in this particular, since all traces of the building seem to have disappeared, but it would be well to consider the tripartite plan as unproved for the Phocicon.<sup>23</sup> This building was probably erected in the second century B. C., and there were doubtless at that time standing examples of bouleuteria with a single row of columns on the main axis.

It is obvious that these rectangular halls with a row of columns on the main axis were not the most satisfactory type of assembly place, and it is not surprising to note that, as architecture in general and especially the methods of roofing

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<sup>22</sup> If the seats had been set at right angles to the main axis, and if there had been two rows of columns, a much larger proportion of the audience would have been unable to see a speaker standing at the far end. In the restoration of the three-aisled plan, the two rows of columns have been placed rather close to one another, so as to allow the maximum seating space in the aisles.

<sup>23</sup> Early travellers, such as Dodwell, Ulrichs, and Bursian, believed that they had found traces of it near the ruined village of Bardana between Daulis and Delphi, but Leroux evidently looked in vain, and two special trips in which I examined the neighborhood very carefully failed to produce any clue to its exact location.

a large space gradually improved, such buildings were no longer erected to serve as bouleuteria. Especially, the convenience of the theater-form of assembly place came more and more to be recognized, and its plan was gradually adapted to roofed buildings. These buildings were necessarily of the square or broad type, and were ideally suited for the grouping of a relatively large crowd about a central bema.

(2) *Square and Broad Buildings and Their Interior Arrangements.* There are six, probably seven, buildings identified as bouleuteria which have a square plan, and thirteen, probably fourteen, which have a broad plan. Wherever it is known, the scheme of interior arrangement in all of these is theater-like and uniform in essentials. Rows of seats, either straight or curved, occupy three sides of the building, and enclose an open space or "orchestra" at the center. A passage, corresponding to the parodoi of a theater, extends along the fourth (front) side, and leads from the orchestra to either side. Entrance from outside is usually provided through this corridor, although there are often additional doors at the back of the auditorium. Circulation is facilitated by stairways set at intervals in the seats and leading from the orchestra to the top of the auditorium. Some of these buildings have forehalls or columned forecourts, and in others the auditorium is entered directly from outside. But details of interior arrangement vary considerably, and the ground plans may best be studied in relation to this variation.

(a) *Buildings with Interior Supports Arranged in  $\square$  Form.* The disposition of rows of seats in straight lines is simpler than a curved scheme, especially if the seats are of wood, and a rectilinear scheme would naturally be earlier than a curvilinear one. In none of the buildings dating before the fourth century B. C. are the actual seats preserved, and it is likely that in these cases, as well as in many buildings of a later date, the seats were of wood and so have completely disappeared. But the disposition of the interior roof sup-

ports can be ascertained in almost every case, and, by comparing the buildings where the seats are not preserved (always keeping in mind the limitations of the period) with those where both the seats and the scheme of interior supports are preserved, the general seating arrangement in the buildings where the seats have disappeared can be restored with considerable certainty.

The earliest building with square ground plan and interior roof supports arranged in a  $\square$  shape is the Old Bouleuterion at Athens, which dates to the end of the sixth century B. C. It had a forehall, and a large room behind with five roof supports, three at the back and two at each side counting the corner columns twice. Thus, if this was an auditorium, the seating arrangement would naturally have opened toward the forehall, and the scheme would have been rectilinear with rows of seats parallel to the line of the interior columns. Since the columns were set at a considerable distance from the outside walls, there would probably have been seats both behind and in front of them. A rectangular orchestra would thus have been enclosed by the front seats and the partition wall at the front of the room. This is quite an ambitious scheme for a building of so early a date, but the position of the roof supports certainly indicates a seating arrangement of this nature. It should be remembered that the building was erected during a period of considerable interest and advance in architecture.

There is on the Asia Minor coast a series of assembly halls, dating from the end of the fourth to the second century B. C., in which the arrangement of the interior roof supports is essentially similar to that in the Old Bouleuterion at Athens. This group includes the Ecclesiasterion at Priene, the Bouleuterion at Notium, and almost certainly the Bouleuterion at Heraclea. In these buildings, a row of supports is set near three of the outside walls just behind the uppermost row of seats, leaving a narrow corridor around the back and both sides of the auditorium. Inside the line of these columns, there are straight rows of stone seats ar-

ranged in a  $\Gamma$  shape and enclosing an orchestra, and a corridor runs along the front of the building at orchestra level.

Leroux considers that this type of assembly hall is a Greek adaptation of the plan of the Egyptian "oikos periptère," in the nature of the *Skené* of Ptolemy Philadelphus.<sup>24</sup> But there is no necessity for assuming that this arrangement was a direct borrowing from Egypt, and that the Greeks, either in Asia Minor or the mainland, were ignorant of the peristyle plan until the third or second century B. C.; they were, in fact, using the peristyle in the fifth century B. C.<sup>25</sup> This type of auditorium merely dispenses with the columns from the one side of the peristyle, where they would interfere, and makes use of the advanced knowledge of trussing and bracing to roof the central span with the support of the columns of the porticos.<sup>26</sup> This principle seems to have been already applied in the Heraclea building at the end of the fourth century B. C.,<sup>27</sup> whereas the *Skené* of Ptolemy cannot have been built before the second quarter of the third century B. C. Moreover, as will be shown immediately, it is essentially this principle which was used in an advanced and complicated form in the second quarter of the fourth century B. C. for the Thersilium at Megalopolis. It might even be suggested that these later buildings show the influence of the plan of the Old Bouleuterion at Athens; but there the columns were nearer the center of the building, and a direct tradition seems improbable.

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<sup>24</sup> Cf. the reconstruction of this building from a literary description (Leroux, *op. cit.*, p. 226).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Robinson and Graham, *Excavations at Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 160, 161; Robinson in P. W. *Supplement* VII, pp. 257-266.

<sup>26</sup> Robertson (*loc. cit.*) believes that the architect of the Priene building may have been familiar with the principle of the self-supporting triangular truss. Cf. also the reconstruction by Schede (*op. cit.*, pp. 63-68).

<sup>27</sup> It is almost certain that the row of columns which ran along the back of this building returned on the sides. Interior roof supports were needed there, the spacing of the preserved bases fits, and the plan is too similar in other respects to that of the Priene building to admit of doubt in this.

The buildings at Heraclea, Priene, and Notium are strikingly similar in almost every respect, and their geographical proximity makes it probable that they were modeled one upon another. The Heraclea building is probably earliest, while that at Priene is a more elaborate version. The Notium building may possibly have been modeled on that at Priene but is simpler. The plan was modified in that the upper row of seats apparently did not extend quite to the line of the columns.<sup>28</sup>

The Thersilium at Megalopolis is considered to be a unique monument in the history of Greek architecture. It has been suggested that close political contact with Persia at the time of its erection was responsible for the adoption of the Persian type of hypostyle hall. But Leroux has shown that there is no proof of such influence, and that the resemblance is probably quite accidental. He sees in it a rare representative of inventive architecture among the Greeks, and believes that it has no parallel either in Archaic or Classical architecture. The building with which it is usually compared is the Telesterium at Eleusis. There, too, a forest of columns supported the roof, but those columns were merely set in rows at regular intervals, and no attempt was made to improve visibility by a more complicated scheme. There are other hypostyle halls not unlike the Telesterium, such as the Bouleuterion at Sicyon, a building at the Argive Heraeum, and the Hypostyle Hall on Delos; but the Thersilium has no close counterpart. Yet the essential scheme is a  $\Gamma$  shaped line of columns adapted to the outline of the back and side walls and enclosing a central rectangular space. The size of the hall merely necessitated the multiplication of the rows of supports, and the architect showed remarkable ingenuity in placing the individual columns so that the maximum visibility was attained.

It is believed that the seats in the Thersilium were arranged

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<sup>28</sup> It seems probable, however, that the span over the seats, which is not much greater than in the other two similar buildings, could have been roofed without other supplementary interior supports.

on a curvilinear system. If so, this would be much the earliest known example, and it is more probable that the seating scheme was of the rectilinear type, as in the Teles-terium at Eleusis and the Bouleuterion at Sicyon. The seats were certainly of wood, which is more difficult to use in a curving scheme. Moreover, it is noticeable that in all the buildings with the  $\square$  shaped scheme of interior supports the seating arrangement, where it is certain, was rectilinear. The porch in the center of the outside front wall is a new feature in known assembly halls, which was perhaps reproduced in the next century in the buildings at Thermum and Thasos.

(b) *Buildings with Interior Supports Arranged in : : Form.* To this group belong the New Bouleuterion at Athens and the buildings at Sicyon, Miletus, and Assos.<sup>29</sup> Four interior columns formed a square or rectangle, and rows of seats, either rectilinear or curvilinear, were grouped around them.<sup>30</sup> Two of the columns are set in the line of the front edge of the seats on either side of the orchestra, while the other two are placed among the seats toward the back of the auditorium. The two buildings in Greece proper are the earlier. The seating arrangement in the Sicyon building was rectilinear, except for the two front curving rows, and it is conjectured that the original seating arrangement in the New Bouleuterion at Athens was rectilinear also. Of the later Asia Minor examples, the Miletus building has curving rows of stone seats, while that at Assos almost certainly had wooden seats, which were perhaps arranged in a curving scheme. At about the same time, the New Bouleuterion at Athens underwent extensive alterations, and the curved stone

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<sup>29</sup> The Sicyon building has, to be sure, more than four interior roof supports, but the auditorium proper is arranged about only four of them.

<sup>30</sup> The arrangement of the seats in the Athens building has been reconstructed with considerable probability, but that of the Assos building is unknown. There is no doubt of the arrangement in the other two cases.

seats which have been found in and around the building probably date from this period.

Leroux thinks this is a much less satisfactory arrangement for an assembly hall than the  $\Gamma$  shaped scheme. To be sure, the two rear columns would have hindered the view of a few spectators, but it must have seemed satisfactory at that period or the architect of the Miletus building would not have been likely to disregard the plan of the already existent assembly hall in nearby Priene, and there are few indications in these buildings of the conservatism so apparent in religious architecture. Actually, the  $:$   $:$  plan was well suited to a rectangular building with a gabled roof, and this method of roofing seems to have been more at home on Greek soil than was the hipped type. The latter, however, was certainly used in the case of the square buildings, and probably in all those with  $\Gamma$  shaped interior arrangements.

The Bouleuterion at Messene should probably be added to this group, for, although there are no traces of interior roof supports, it seems unlikely that a building of its dimensions and date could have been roofed without the use of interior supports. Since there is no doubt that it was roofed, the most probable scheme of interior supports is the  $:$   $:$  arrangement. Yet it is peculiar that, if interior supports existed, there are now no traces of them in a building which is otherwise so well preserved.

(c) *Thasos and Thermum*. These two buildings appear to have had a very similar plan, distinguished in part by an ornamental columned porch at the center of the outside front wall. In this particular they resemble, and possibly copy, the Thersilium at Megalopolis. Also, the Thasos building had a complete interior peristyle, with the columns forming a wide corridor next the outside walls and leaving in the center a square area, which was apparently roofed. If this building was a bouleuterion, the necessary seats were probably of wood and arranged on a rectilinear system. The plan would be essentially that of the buildings with the  $\Gamma$  shaped

arrangement of interior supports. The columns on the fourth side, however, would have been a hindrance, unless the whole auditorium and the speaker's bema were inside the central square. Hence, it may be that this was not a true peristyle, but that the columns at the front were short and only supported a platform, as in the Thersilium. Although the interior of the Thermum building is as yet completely unexcavated, the similarity of its known features to those of the building at Thasos makes it possible that the interior arrangement, too, was analogous.

Hiller von Gaertringen believes that a complete interior peristyle is indicated by the inscription concerning the Bouleuterion at Cyzicus (?).<sup>81</sup> Provision is made in this inscription for the setting up in the Bouleuterion of a bronze statue "in the space between columns [ἐν τῷ μεσοστύλῳ] beside the stele already there." There is no reason to believe, however, that this expression could not apply to the placing of a statue between the columns of a building with an interior arrangement like that, for instance, at Priene. And, even if this phrase does refer to a complete peristyle, it is possible, as he himself suggests, that it applies to a peristyle forecourt, such as Libanius saw in a Bouleuterion in Asia Minor.

(d) *Buildings of "Odeum-Type."* This latest type of bouleuterion is represented by the buildings at Troy, Nysa, and Apollonia. These repeat the theater-like scheme with the curvilinear seating arrangement of earlier buildings, but by Roman times such progress in the science of roof trussing and bracing had been made that it was possible to dispense altogether with interior supports. Also, in the buildings at Nysa and Apollonia the architects made use of the excellent method employed by Roman engineers of supporting the higher rear part of the auditorium by means of a vaulted passageway running around three sides of the building next to the outer walls. This system enabled them to dispense with much of the rubble or masonry fill, which had formerly

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<sup>81</sup> *A. M.*, XXXI, 1906, p. 433.



been necessary to support the sloping tiers of seats. The Apollonia building had a small porch in front, like those at Thasos and Thermum.

(3) *Buildings with Exceptional Ground Plans.* Reason has already been given for the belief that one of the two apsidal halls at Olympia, probably the southern one, was the actual assembly place of the political council there. The south hall is the earliest known building with which the name "bouleuterion" has been plausibly connected, and it is the latest in a long series of buildings with the elliptical-apsidal ground plan common in the prehistoric period.<sup>82</sup> The long, narrow, apsidal plan with a single row of columns on the main axis was a popular one in the earliest monumental architecture in Greece. It was employed in early temples, and the long, narrow shape and the central row of columns, but not the apse, are found in the stoa.

There is, however, no evidence to support the current belief that at any period the apse was especially connected with the bouleuterion.<sup>83</sup> The Olympia halls are actually the only surviving examples of such a plan in a building identified as a bouleuterion, and even there the apse is not really a part of the assembly hall, but is partitioned off from it; the auditorium proper is rectangular. In a late reconstruction of the so-called Ecclesiasterion at Delos a small, semicircular exedra was built in the front wall, and a similar arrangement is found in a late reconstruction of the north room of the Hellenistic Metroum in Athens, which may possibly have been

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<sup>82</sup> The north hall at Olympia is, in its present form, the earlier, but it has been shown that the south hall was probably built on the exact lines of a still earlier building.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Bulle's identification of one of the early apsidal buildings at Thermum as a bouleuterion (*Orchomenos*, p. 49); the suggestion that an apsidal bit of wall discovered in the Agora at Megalopolis was part of the bouleuterion (cf. p. 151); the identification of the Eleusis building, resting mainly on the curving inner wall; Picard's recent article *re* the Athenian Bouleuterion. Leroux has rightly shown that there is no justification for such arguments.

used at that time as an auditorium. The speaker would no doubt have stood in front of such an exedra, and, at Delos at least, rows of stone seats faced it. This scheme was common in buildings used for various purposes in the Roman period, and it has had a great vogue in Christian architecture; but there is too long a gap in the history of the political assembly hall and too much uncertainty in the identification of these later buildings to make it likely that the apse was a continuous tradition in the bouleuterion from the fifth century B. C. onward. The Olympia buildings look backward, not forward.

Such buildings as those at Lousoi and Eleusis have only the most superficial resemblance to those at Olympia. The curved walls in these cases were possibly foundations for some sort of curvilinear seating arrangement, but they are interior walls. The actual shape of the buildings is rectangular, not apsidal. The Corinth building has a very peculiar plan, with few straight lines in any of its walls. It is clearly out of the line of regular development in Greek political assembly halls, and shows points of similarity with certain Roman buildings in Italy.

The impression is also prevalent that the bouleuterion often, if not usually, had three rooms. This idea, like that in connection with the apse, is the result of undue emphasis on the Olympia complex as a sort of canon for Greek bouleuteria. But it must be remembered that at Olympia the buildings which form the complex were gradual additions, extending from the sixth to the second century B. C.; there was no original tripartite scheme. Thus, this complex could not possibly have been taken as a model before the third or second century B. C. It is just possible that in one case, that of Eleusis, there was conscious copying of the three rooms in paratactic arrangement. But at Eleusis the curved wall is in the central of the three rooms, while at Olympia the apses are in the side halls; the central room at Eleusis is the largest and apparently provided the only approach to the side chambers, while in the Olympia complex the side halls were at

least equally important and had separate entrances. There was certainly no general rule regarding the number of secondary rooms, and, in fact, their very existence is exceptional.

The reconstructed plan of the auditorium in the Olynthus building is also without any close parallel. The restoration of a columned forecourt in front of it might suggest that it was the forerunner of such arrangements as that at Miletus. But the connection of this building with a political council seems quite incapable of proof, and it cannot at present be considered as a phase in the development of the bouleuterion plan.

D. *Details of Decoration and of Interior Arrangement.* The bouleuteria were truly monumental buildings. Propylaea, columned porches, porticos and forecourts, elaborate memorials in memory of heroes, and all the embellishments which gradually became attached to important public edifices were added to many of them. Especially in the later period, various decorative devices, such as marble revetments and ornate naiskoi in which statues stood, were common, and Plutarch laments the fact that because of them it was no longer possible for the councillors to devote their undivided attention to the business at hand.

The general effect of these civic buildings, as in the case of the temples, was heightened by the judicious use of color on various architectural members. There are traces of this color on blocks from the Olympia and Miletus buildings. Furthermore, painted terracotta revetments, acroteria, monumental dedications inscribed on the architraves, and various other exterior decorative devices are known to have been employed. A popular scheme was evidently the use of imitation shields. Pausanias says that, about the Bouleuterion at Elis, shields were dedicated, "made to be looked at and not for the works of war," and, in the Bouleuterion at Miletus, decorative shields carved in the wall blocks were set in the spaces between the windows. Also, paintings often decorated the interior walls of both the auditoria and the columned porticos. Pausanias mentions two paintings of a noticeably

politico-historical character in the Bouleuterion at Athens, and Libanius describes two paintings in the forecourt of a Bouleuterion in Asia Minor.

Vitruvius prescribes this interesting technical device for improving the acoustics in assembly halls:

The inside walls should be girdled at a point halfway up their height with cornices [coronae] made of woodwork or stucco, for without these the voices of men engaged in discussion will be carried up to the height above, and so be unintelligible to their listeners.

If the square bouleuteria were really built to such a height as Vitruvius prescribes, some such device would seem to have been necessary to insure satisfactory acoustics. One would not, in any case, expect traces of such coronae to be preserved, since the material he advocates for them would have disintegrated after the destruction of the buildings. Such cornices appear in other buildings in late Hellenistic times, but apparently in a purely decorative capacity.

The word "bema" (*βῆμα*) is frequently used in connection with the political assembly places, and it might be expected that a raised speaker's platform would be one of the distinctive features in the remains of buildings so identified. As a matter of fact, only in the late Bouleuterion at Troy has there been discovered a raised stone platform at the front of the orchestra, and even there it may have been used as a place for seating the dignitaries rather than as a bema. The majority of such platforms were probably built of wood, and so have disappeared. There is reason to suppose that a large wooden platform, supported by the front wall and a line of columns inside and parallel to it, existed in the Thersilium; but here again it was probably used for the notables. In some cases the bema may have been a small, movable, wooden structure, but it may be conjectured that the regular place where the speaker stood was the paved orchestra itself. In the buildings where the seats rose in tiers, there would have been no necessity for a raised platform, yet the expression "bema" might still be applied to the place where the speakers stood.<sup>34</sup> The

<sup>34</sup> Pollux (*op. cit.*, IV, 123) confuses *βῆμα* and *βωμός*. This would

established verb "to go up" (*ἀναβαίνειν*) to the bema would probably have persisted, even if it was no longer actually raised.

There was in many city councils a small executive body, such as the prytany at Athens, in which was embodied most of the power and importance of the whole council. In other cases, certain individuals among the councillors were especially honored for various reasons. It was apparently not uncommon to furnish special seats in the political assembly places for these men, as well as for distinguished guests, ambassadors, clerks, and other minor officials. Such special seats are mentioned in literature in connection with the Athenian prytanes, and Cicero was honored with a special place among the officials when he attended a session of the Syracusan council in their Bouleuterion. Also, the favoring of individuals by granting them a front seat (*προεδρία*) at the meetings of the political bodies is a well-known feature in inscribed honorary decrees.

Among extant remains of these buildings, there are several cases in which such provision is probably to be recognized. The clearest example is the rectangular exedra with two benches, which is located in the middle of the front wall directly opposite the orchestra in the Ecclesiasterion at Priene. The benches carved in the rock behind the bema on the Athenian Pnyx seem to have served a similar purpose. Also, the platform at the front of the Thersilium and the Bouleuterion at Troy may have been so used. Finally, the square area directly in front of the auditorium in the Bouleuterion at Sicyon was surrounded by some sort of railing, and may best be explained as having served this same purpose. In these cases, movable chairs or benches would have been provided.

It appears, also, that the orchestra regularly contained an altar, usually dedicated to Hestia. Such altars or their bases

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seem to indicate that the speaker did not stand on a special platform. Apparently, the word used for the speaker's platform in the Ecclesiasterion at Priene was *λογεῖον*.

are preserved in the center of the orchestra in the buildings at Heraclea, Priene, and Troy; an altar found near the New Bouleuterion at Athens has been tentatively assigned to that building. An altar of Hestia in the Bouleuterion at Athens is mentioned several times in literature, and an altar of the same goddess is also attested for the assembly place at Aegium. The fact that most altars were small and easily moved doubtless accounts for their non-appearance in other excavated bouleuteria.

Statues of both gods and men were frequently set up in these buildings. The gods represented were almost always connected with politics and so were naturally given a place in the assembly halls of the political bodies. At a somewhat later period, statues of deified abstractions, such as Demus and Democratia, were introduced. Finally, statues and painted portraits of individuals were set up in the bouleuteria. It is known from literary and epigraphical sources that a series of portrait paintings of treasurers of the council was dedicated in the Bouleuterion at Athens, a bronze statue of a certain Diocles in the Bouleuterion at Cyzicus, a gilded statue of Orontas of Olbia in the Bouleuterion at Byzantium, and statues of Marcellus, Verres, and his son in the Bouleuterion at Syracuse. Excavators have discovered statues of the family of the Emperor Antoninus Pius in the Geronticon at Nysa, and unidentified statues in the buildings at Priene and Thasos. Statue bases have been found in the majority of these buildings.

Mention has already been made of the practice of erecting in and around the bouleuteria inscribed stone stelae recording decrees or other matters of political significance, and of the storing of political documents of a more perishable nature in the bouleuteria. In a few instances, the actual rooms in which these documents were kept may be tentatively identified. The most frequently mentioned place for storing public documents is the Metroum at Athens, and two small rooms in the Hellenistic building (the south room and the third from the south, one on either side of the late monumental entrance to

the New Bouleuterion) were probably used for this purpose. One or more of the three or four small rooms in the apses of the Olympia halls may well have had a similar function; in Eleusis the two side rooms; in Delos the small square room partitioned off at one end of the Bouleuterion; in Miletus the underground room in the corridor; and in Apollonia the two small rooms under the sloping auditorium. In other cases, simple wooden cupboards or shelves were probably placed in the forehalls or in other out-of-the-way parts of the buildings to contain documents written on papyrus. Inscribed stelae were set up in the forehalls, forecourts, porches, and outside many of these buildings. Such stelae or their beddings have been found in and around the bouleuteria at Athens, Delos, Mantinea, Calauria, Lousoi, Eleusis, Messene, Thasos, Assos, Miletus, and Troy; on most of them decrees passed by the council are recorded.

There is also some reason to believe that in these buildings the funds, official weights, and other valuables belonging to the councils were sometimes kept. The rooms used for the storing of political documents would have served this purpose as well.

Bouleuteria were in some cases closely connected with the graves of popular heroes. That in Megara is said by Pausanias to have been originally the tomb of Timalcus. The periegete goes on to tell how the Megarians had tombs inside their city, and, when an oracle directed them to take counsel with the majority, they believed this to refer to the heroes, and built the Bouleuterion so that their graves would be inside it. On the other hand, tombs or cenotaphs may sometimes have been later additions within the precinct of the bouleuterion. Thus, a heroum built in the center of the forecourt in the Bouleuterion at Miletus dates after the building itself, but it is possible that the actual burial antedates the Bouleuterion and may even have been a factor in deciding its location.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> The arrangement of the north room in the building now called the Heroum at Calydon caused it at first to be taken for a bouleuterion or ecclesiasterion (*B. C. H.*, XLIX, 1925, p. 458; *A. A.*, XLI,

E. *Financing of Construction and Repairs.* These buildings were public edifices, erected for the use of the chief executive bodies in the city-states, and there can be no doubt that the state usually bore the expense of their erection. But there is also reason to believe that, in the case of this type of building perhaps more than most, private individuals of means often financed the construction or repair. Thus, Pausanias tells that the great Bouleuterion at Megalopolis was called "Thersilium" after a certain Thersilius who dedicated it, and that the Bouleuterion at Elis was called "Lalichmium" for a similar reason. Monumental inscriptions recovered from the ruins show that a certain Thersil . . . dedicated the building at Thasos, that Timarchus and Heraclides, sons of Heraclides, dedicated that at Miletus on behalf of King Antiochus Epiphanes, and that Antiphanes, son of Apollonides, dedicated that at Aegae.<sup>36</sup> Also, from the evidence of the statues found in the Geronticon at Nysa it may be concluded that it was built at the expense of Sextus Julius Antoninus Pythodorus, who belonged to an old and rich family of that city.

As for repairs, a certain Apaturius of Alabanda erected a magnificent stage in the Ecclesiasterion at Tralles, and an inscription records honors voted to a general of Megara because he had constructed at his own expense seats in the Bouleuterion there. There is inscriptional evidence for an extensive building program in the fourth century B. C. on the Synedrium of the Delphic Amphictyony near Thermopylae. It involves an architect's salary for three years, a payment of over three talents to a certain Mnesicles (perhaps the

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1926, p. 429). It is now believed that the finding of an underground burial chamber proves that the whole building had some connection with the worship of the dead. But the above evidence shows that the two might be reconciled, and that the building might have been designed as a bouleuterion built on the site of a hero's grave.

<sup>36</sup> A monumental inscription is reported to have been recovered from the ruins of the Apollonia building, but no details concerning it have yet been published.



general contractor), and a fifth instalment on this building collected from Perpolas of Larissa. Dittenberger believes that this is the record of a complete repair made necessary because of damage done to the buildings in the Phocian War. It may perhaps be concluded, too, that a certain Tiberius Claudius Saithidas paid for certain improvements in the Messene building.

It has been seen that in the early fourth century A. D. the bouleuteria in Sicily were apparently restored. Dio Chrysostom, on the other hand, pictures a desolate scene in the cities of Euboea as early as the first half of the second century A. D., when "day after day sheep invade the agora at dawn, and graze about the bouleuterion and the offices of the magistrates."<sup>87</sup>

F. *Secondary Uses.* The convenience which the bouleuteria afforded as a protected place for a limited number of people to assemble for non-political, as well as for political purposes could not fail to have been recognized. In form and function they were especially close to the odeia, and the difficulty of distinguishing between the two types of buildings has already been emphasized. As early as the second century B. C. the Bouleuterion at Teos was being regularly used for musical contests among school children. Also, it came to be regarded as quite the usual procedure to practice declaiming in the bouleuterion. Specific instances of this custom are known in connection with the Bouleuterion at Elis and that at Smyrna. This use was fairly consistent with the original purpose of the buildings, and probably they were so employed as early as the rise of the schools for teaching oratory.

As time went on, the city councils came as a rule to have less and less power in directing state policy, and their meetings must usually have become correspondingly less frequent. Hence, the bouleuteria were more available for other purposes. It was in this period, when they had come to be used commonly as odeia, that a stage was added in some of the bouleu-

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<sup>87</sup> Cf. *Seventh (Euboean) Discourse*, 39.

teria, as in the case of the buildings at Miletus and Messene. Also, Vitruvius mentions the addition of an elegant stage in the Ecclesiasterion at Tralles. No platform of dimensions commensurate with those of a stage was needed for a political assembly hall; the uniform absence of such platforms in extant assembly halls, unless added at a late period, is sufficient proof of this.

Other uses of the buildings, such as for the storing of state archives and valuables, have been discussed.

With the rise of emperor cults in the Imperial period, chapels were fitted up in all the cities of Greece. In these, a statue of the emperor and seats for the devotees were placed. Such chapels had certain points in common with the political assembly places, and some buildings seem to have served both purposes at this period. The latest phases of reconstruction in the Mantinea building and in the Ecclesiasterion at Delos have been identified as chapels used for an emperor cult.

G. *Cults of the Gods Connected with Political Meeting Places.*<sup>38</sup> The function of counsellor and assistant in political councils was regularly associated with certain deities in the Greek Pantheon, and these gods came naturally to have a permanent association with the political assembly places. Their political significance varied considerably in different city-states, but a fairly definite canon can be laid down in this regard.

Zeus. The worship of Zeus had by far the greatest political significance, since his cult was pre-eminently a national one. It was believed that, under his auspices and in a precinct sacred to him at Aegium, Agamemnon had assembled the Greek chieftains to take counsel before embarking against Troy. Hence, Zeus won the epitheton "Homagyrius" (the Assembler), and later, under the title "Amarius," he was

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<sup>38</sup> Cf. especially Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, I, pp. 43, 48, 58, 61, 112, 116, 197, 304, 309; II, pp. 468, 658-663; IV, pp. 9-12, 161, 171; V, pp. 345-365; Cook, *Zeus*, I, pp. 16, 17; II, pp. 258-261, 317, 318; also the literature cited in both of these works.

the patron god of the Achaean league which met in his sanctuary at Aegium.

But his best-known political title was "Boulaeus" (the Counsellor). Under this name he was worshipped at Athens at least as early as the fifth century B. C., and a wooden statue of him in this capacity was set up in the Bouleuterion there. Also, it is learned from the inscription on the architrave that it was primarily to Zeus Boulaeus that the Bouleuterion at Aegae was dedicated. He is again associated closely with the Bouleuterion at Miletus in an inscription on a statue base erected in front of its early gateway. In inscriptions from various other cities, such as Sparta, Mytilene, Pergamum, Gythium, Chalcedon, and the Panionium near Mycale, Zeus Boulaeus is mentioned; it may be assumed that in all these cases he was closely connected with the political assembly place.

Zeus also appears, with approximately the same special function, under various other titles. Thus, a dedication to Zeus Eubouleus (the Good Counsellor) was found in the building at Mantinea identified as the Bouleuterion, and this title itself, without the explanation of Diodorus Siculus, would connect him with political assemblies. It appears at Paros, Cyrene, and Amorgos in close connection with Demeter and Persephone, and Hesychius says that Zeus Eubouleus corresponds to Pluto, god of the underworld.<sup>30</sup> Farnell, therefore, believes that Zeus with this epitheton has no political connection, but Cook has shown that it is as a chthonic god, or, more strictly, as a deity associated with chthonic goddesses, that he naturally gives counsel to men.

A statue of Zeus Soter (the Savior) stood in front of the Bouleuterion at Calauria. The nucleus of the Thessalian federal league was the sanctuary of Zeus Eleutherius (the Liberator) at Larissa, while that of the Carian federal league was the precinct of Zeus Chrysaoreus (of the Golden Sword) at Stratonicea. Moreover, an awe-inspiring statue of Zeus Horcius (the Oath-God) stood in the Bouleuterion at Olympia,

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<sup>30</sup> S. v. "Εὐβουλεύς."

and athletes had to swear an oath at his altar before participating in the Olympic games. Pausanias, too, tells of a statue of Zeus in the assembly hall of the Phocian league near Daulis, and of another in the temple near Coronea, which was the center of the Boeotian federal league; in neither case does he mention a special epitheton.

Several other titles given to Zeus show that they originated from his connection with politics and political bodies. Thus, Zeus Epibemius (of the Orator's Platform) was worshipped in Siphnos, and Plutarch calls the bema the shrine of Zeus Boulaeus. At Sparta, Zeus was worshipped under the title Amboulus (the Reverser of Counsel), and at Argos under the title Mechaneus (the Contriver).

*Hera.* Along with Zeus, his consort Hera is occasionally mentioned in connection with political life, but she is associated purely through her position as the wife of Zeus, and never the the epitheton "Boulaea." A statue of Hera is said by Pausanias to have stood in the assembly hall of the Phocian league.

*Athena.* Next in importance to Zeus comes Athena, famed as a counsellor from the time of Homer onward. She was worshipped under the title "Boulaea" in the Bouleuterion at Athens. The Boeotian federal league met in the precinct of Itonian Athena near Coronea, and her statue stood in the temple there. Also, a statue of Athena was seen by Pausanias in the Phocicon, and another in the Amarium; no special title is mentioned. There was an altar of Athena Areia in the meeting place of the Athenian council on the Areopagus.

*Hestia.* The cult of Hestia was a minor one, but it was early and closely connected with the taking of oaths and with ritual prayer. It was first of all a household cult, but was extended from there to the prytaneum, and then transferred to the bouleuterion. Apparently, a political assembly place regularly contained a hearth or altar, at which sacrifice was

offered before business was introduced. Such a hearth implied the presence of Hestia, and from her surroundings she naturally acquired the title "Boulaea." She exercised a shadowy potency rather than a clear directing part in counsel, and in no single case is an actual statue of Hestia mentioned in the political assembly places. It seems rather that Hestia Boulaea was regarded merely as the invisible guardian of the altar in particular, and of the assembly place in general. Altars of Hestia Boulaea are specifically mentioned in the Bouleuterion at Athens and in the Amarium at Aegium. Also, she appears as one of the deities to whom the Bouleuterion at Miletus and that at Aegae were dedicated. This title is also attested for various other cities, such as Pergamum, Erythrae, Cnidus, and Caunus. It is possible that, in some of these cases, she was localized in the prytaneum.

*Apollo.* Apollo was in most Greek states a patron deity of the city, and ranked with Zeus and Athena in this respect. Thus, although Poseidon was the great god of the Ionians in general, Apollo was the divine counsellor-of-state in Miletus.<sup>3</sup> This was probably due to the influence of the oracle at Didyma and the shrine at Branchidae. The monumental inscriptions show that the Bouleuterion at Miletus was dedicated first and foremost to Apollo Didymaeus. Pausanias saw a statue of Apollo in the Bouleuterion at Athens. The Cretan federal league sometimes met in the precinct of Apollo Bilconius at Bilcon, and the headquarters of the Aetolian and Island federal leagues were closely connected with the famous sanctuaries of Apollo at Thermum and Delos.

*Artemis.* Along with Apollo, his sister Artemis was sometimes associated as a patroness of political life, although she was never so essentially a goddess of counsel as was Athena. Her temple at Amarynthus near Eretria was the scene of a Euboean festival at which politics were discussed. Also, she

received the title "Boulaea" at Athens, and that of "Boulaea" or "Boulephorus" at Miletus.

*Aphrodite.* Aphrodite is infrequently mentioned in political connections, but Cook is undoubtedly right in believing that her title "Pandemus" was originally an honorable one, and was related to her early association with the political assembly place near her sanctuary in Athens. Also, a statue of Aphrodite stood in the Amarium at Aegium.

*Poseidon.* Finally, Poseidon was considered by certain groups as the guardian of the state, and as such was connected with their political assembly place. The Panionic federal league held its meetings in the Panionium, a sanctuary of Poseidon situated near Mycale. His statue stood in front of the Bouleuterion at Calauria, a stronghold of his cult and center of an important Amphictyonic league formed to guard his interests there. At one time the Island federal league held meetings in the sanctuary of Poseidon and Amphitrite on the island of Tenos, and his sanctuary on the Isthmus of Corinth was the scene of the early Panhellenic assemblies.

Often two or more of these divinities were jointly honored in the political assembly places, but it is usually clear that one of them, most frequently Zeus, was predominant. The most usual combination is that of Zeus and Athena. Thus, Zeus Boulaeus and Athena Boulaea were associated in the Bouleuterion at Athens; Zeus, Athena, and Hera had statues in the Phocicon; Zeus, Athena, and Aphrodite had statues in the Amarium; and Zeus and Itonian Athena both had statues in the temple of the latter near Coronea. At Athens, Zeus Boulaeus and Hestia Boulaea were associated in the Bouleuterion, while the building at Aegae was dedicated to these two jointly. Zeus and Poseidon had statues side by side in front of the Bouleuterion at Calauria. Finally, Apollo Didymaeus, Hestia Boulaea, and Demus were jointly honored by the dedicators of the Bouleuterion at Miletus.

In addition to actual divinities, certain deified abstractions came naturally to be connected with the political meeting places. Pausanias tells of a statue of Demus (the Common People) in the Bouleuterion at Athens, and Demus was one of those to whom the Bouleuterion at Miletus was dedicated. Also, a statue of Democratia stood in the Bouleuterion at Pergamum.

H. *Final Conclusions as to Correctness of Identifications.* These comparisons have, it is true, made use of almost all the buildings identified as political assembly places, irrespective of whether or not the identification is certain. But this method may be justified, since in every group some at least of the buildings admit of little or no doubt as to their purpose. It should now be possible to use the results of these comparisons in passing judgment as to the correctness of the individual identifications. According to the degree to which each individual building agrees with the established general characteristics in these respects, the correctness of the identification suggested by the excavators has been assessed. Each building need not be discussed again, since the facts brought out in the catalogue in the preceding chapter may be consulted. For convenience, the conclusions will be indicated in the accompanying table by a system of stars: four stars for a certain identification, three for a very likely one, two for a probable one, one for a possible one, and none where the identification is unlikely, or the building is so badly destroyed that nothing but a conjecture is possible.

Thus, the buildings at Delphi, Megalopolis, Miletus, and Priene have been identified with certainty; those at Aegae, Athens (New Bouleuterion), Heraclaea, Messene, Notium, Nysa, Sicyon, and Troy with very great likelihood; those at Apollonia, Assos, Athens (Old Bouleuterion), Calauria, Delos (Bouleuterion and Ecclesiasterion), Olympia, Orchomenus, Mantinea, Paestum, Termessus, Thasos, and Thermum with

probability. The structures at Corinth, Eleusis, Lousoi, and Olynthus may possibly have served this purpose, while the identification of those at Epidaurus, Gortyna, and Rhamnus is unlikely, or at least not susceptible of proof.



TABLE III

<i>City</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Proportions</i>
** Olympia (north hall)	Bouleuterion	sixth century B. C.	narrow (apsidal)
** Athens	Old Bouleuterion	end of sixth century B. C.	square
**** Delphi	Bouleuterion	end of sixth century B. C.	narrow
** Olympia (south hall)	Bouleuterion	first half of fifth century B. C.	narrow (apsidal)
* Olynthus	Bouleuterion	early fifth century B. C.	broad
*** Athens	New Bouleuterion	late fifth century B. C.	broad
** Paestum	Bouleuterion	late fifth (?) century B. C.	broad (?)
** Orchomenus	Bouleuterion	fifth century B. C.	narrow
** Delos	Bouleuterion	fifth (?) century B. C.	narrow
** Mantinea (Period 1)	Bouleuterion	fourth century B. C.	narrow
**** Megalopolis	Bouleuterion (Thersilium)	second quarter of fourth century B. C.	broad
*** Heraclea	Bouleuterion	end of fourth century B. C.	broad
*** Sicyon	Bouleuterion	late fourth or early third century B. C.	square
** Calauria	Bouleuterion	fourth or early third century B. C.	narrow

<i>Dimensions (approximate)</i>	<i>Interior Roof Supports</i>	<i>Seating Arrangement</i>
11 m. x ca. 28 m.	one line of columns on long axis	probably rectilinear and of wood
23 m. x 24 m.	columns in $\square$ arrangement	probably rectilinear and of wood
6 m. x 13 m.	probably none	probably rectilinear and of wood
11 m. x ca. 28 m.	one line of columns on long axis	probably rectilinear and of wood
13 m. x 16 m.	two groups of two pillars on long axis (?)	possibly curving and of wood
17 m. x 26 m.	columns in $::$ arrangement	probably rectilinear and of wood at first; almost certainly curvilinear and of stone later
ca. 31 m. x over 29 m.	none visible	curvilinear and of stone
8 m. x 41 m.	one line of columns on long axis	probably rectilinear and of wood
7 m. x 22 m.	one line of columns on long axis	probably rectilinear and of wood
ca. 9 m. x 52 m.	none; open colonnade at front	probably rectilinear and of wood
68 m. x 86 m.	five lines of columns in $\square$ arrangement	probably rectilinear and of wood
20 m. x 26 m.	columns in $\square$ arrangement	rectilinear and of stone
40 m. x 40 m.	columns in $::$ arrangement for auditorium; four rows of four columns for whole building	rectilinear except two curving front rows; stucco over brick and earth
ca. 8 m. x 48 m.	one line of columns on long axis; open at front	probably rectilinear and of wood

<i>City</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Proportions</i>
** Delos (Period 2)	Ecclesiasterion	fourth or early third century B. C.	narrow
* Lousoi	Bouleuterion	fourth or third century B. C.	square
* Eleusis	Bouleuterion	third century B. C.	broad
*** Messene	Bouleuterion	third century B. C.	broad
** Thasos	Bouleuterion	third century B. C.	square
** Thermum	Bouleuterion	third century B. C.	broad
**** Priene	Ecclesiasterion	third or beginning of second century B. C.	square
*** Notium	Bouleuterion	third or early second century B. C.	broad
** Assos	Bouleuterion	first half of second cen- tury B. C.	square
**** Miletus	Bouleuterion	175-164 B. C.	broad
** Delos (Period 5)	Ecclesiasterion	end of first century B. C.	broad
** Apollonia	Bouleuterion	late first century B. C. or first century A. D.	broad
*** Troy	Bouleuterion	early first century A. D.	broad
*** Aegae	Bouleuterion	first (?) century A. D.	square (?)
* Corinth	Curia	first century A. D.	horseshoe shaped
*** Nysa	Geronticon	138-161 A. D.	broad

<i>Dimensions</i>	<i>Interior Roof Supports</i>	<i>Seating Arrangement</i>
12 m. x 24 m.	pilasters against walls (?)	probably rectilinear and of wood
15 m. x 15 m.	probably none	probably curvilinear and of wood
12 m. x 16 m.	probably none; open at front	probably curvilinear and of wood
21 m. x 27 m.	possibly columns in :: arrangement, or none	curvilinear; lower seats of stone, upper of wood (?)
32 m. x 32 m.	columns of complete peri-style	probably rectilinear and of wood
20 m. x 26 m.	unexcavated in interior	unexcavated in interior
20 m. x 21 m.	pillars in □ arrangement	rectilinear and of stone
23 m. x 27 m.	columns in □ arrangement	rectilinear and of stone
21 m. x 21 m.	columns in :: arrangement	probably curvilinear and of wood
24 m. x 35 m.	columns in :: arrangement	curvilinear and of stone
16 m. x 24 m.	none	curvilinear and of stone (taken from Theater)
15 m. x 19 m.	none	curvilinear and of stone (?)
26 m. x 29 m.	none	curvilinear and of stone
18 m. x 18 (?) m.	unpublished	unpublished
ca. 12 m. x ca. 17 m.	none	curvilinear and of stone (possibly only one row)
20 m. x 26 m.	none	curvilinear and of stone



## APPENDIX I

### SMALL ROCK-CUT SEATING ARRANGEMENTS

In various ancient sites in Greece there are to be seen rows of seats cut in the living rock. These can readily be distinguished from steps, but their exact use is not evident. They are, indeed, peculiarly noncommittal, not only in regard to the purpose, but also as to the date of their cutting. Naturally, it has been conjectured that some of these were meant as places of meeting for political councils. There are so many other possibilities that the question cannot be settled, but it is necessary to mention briefly the best known and likeliest of these arrangements.

(a) *Athens*. On the northwest slope of the Hill of the Muses is a series of seven broad seats, best known as the *Siebensesselplatz*.<sup>1</sup> They are *ca.* 13 m. long, and in front of them is a small level area. It has been suggested that the council of the local deme may have used this spot for its meetings.<sup>2</sup> It may also have been the seat of a tribunal, or merely a lounging place.

Also, some rather extensive rock cutting in the northwest slope of the Hill of the Nymphs has given rise to the name *kleine Pnyx* for this area.<sup>3</sup> But there is no evidence and little probability that this place was ever meant to serve any purpose similar to that of the Pnyx proper.

(b) *Thoricus*. A room immediately adjoining the south-east end of the Theater is believed by Bulle to have been the meeting place of the deme's council.<sup>4</sup> Two rock benches extend all along its east wall (*ca.* 15 m.), and the lower one returns for *ca.* 3 m. along the short north wall. The floor

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<sup>1</sup> Judeich, *op. cit.*, p. 397.

<sup>2</sup> Bulle, *Untersuchungen an griechischen Theatern*, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Judeich, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.*

in front of the benches is smooth. Contemporaneously with the reconstruction of the Theater, an outside west wall and an east-west partition wall were built, and the arrangement was probably roofed. It would have accommodated *ca.* sixty-six persons and may have been used for the purpose that Bulle suggests, especially as it is known that the assemblies of the demes met in the theaters for their political deliberations. It might also have served as a green room for the actors; perhaps it fulfilled both purposes.



Fig. 31. Assembly Place on Aspis, Argos, from west.

(c) *Argos.* (Fig. 31) In the west slope of the Aspis is a carefully cut series of seats hewn from the rock, now somewhat obscured by Byzantine walls. There are nine of these rows at the north, but only the lower five continue the full length of *ca.* 24.7 m., because the rock slopes downward slightly to the south. The average width of the seats is 0.45 m., and the average height *ca.* 0.22 m. In front of them a long platform was left in the rock. It lies 2.35 m. west of the front seat, 4 m. from the north edge of the seats, and

ca. 9 m. from their south edge. It is ca. 13.50 m. long (north-south), ca. 3.15 m. wide, and 0.70 m. high, with a profiling at the front (east) edge. There were apparently two or three steps leading up to its west side. Access to this area was clearly gained from the north, by means of a stairway still visible along its north edge just west of the platform. The area was directly connected with a room immediately west of the stairway.

This arrangement is discussed in a recent popular guide book, and there it is understood as a monumental stairway leading up to the sanctuary of Apollo, while the platform is said to have been an altar.<sup>5</sup> This is an unlikely theory, since the rock both to the east and west of this area is quite rough, and access was had to it by a rather narrow stairway from the north.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, had this been primarily a stairway, the platform of rock would never have been left to block almost the whole length of the steps. It is much more likely that the area was an auditorium, and the platform a bema. It could have accommodated ca. four hundred sixty persons.

(d) *Phlius*. Near the base of the south slope of the Acropolis and just east of the Theater, what appears to be a seating arrangement is cut in the native conglomerate. The western half is unexcavated. Two rows of seats, roughly semicircular in shape, border an "orchestra" which has a diameter of ca. 12 m. The upper seat is ca. 0.46 m. wide and 0.30 m. to 0.36 m. high. There are no clear cuttings for other seats behind it. The lower seat has the same width, but practically no riser, and it may have been only a foot-rest for those seated in the row above. Adjoining the orchestra at the east is a room, almost entirely cut out of the rock, ca. 6 m. east-west and 4.60 m. north-south. It has traces of

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<sup>5</sup> Hachette, *Grèce (Guide Bleu)*, 1935, p. 387. This is the only mention of these cuttings that I have been able to find.

<sup>6</sup> If there was a terrace to the east, as indicated in the plan in the *Guide Bleu*, it would have made necessary an earth fill to such a height that communication would have been impossible from the top step of the auditorium. True, these seats are very narrow, and this may have served as both stairway and auditorium.



well-built supplementary walls at the east and south, and may have been open on the west. In the northern part, a row of three bases for roof supports has been left in the living rock, and it is likely that there was in the southern part a corresponding row of bases made from cut blocks. In front (south) of the orchestra scarcely enough has been excavated to make sure whether there was a stage, but this appears unlikely. The type of wall construction is apparently fifth or fourth century B. C.

(e) *Halae in Locris*. A construction here, although not exactly of this class, calls for notice.<sup>7</sup> The main entrance to the town was at the northeast, between a square and round tower. Inside these the passage broadens considerably, and there was probably an inner gate further to the west. The south side of the "keep" thus formed is occupied by an exedra describing a shallow arc of a circle 9.30 m. in diameter. A single low bench running around the back has a length of *ca.* 10.40 m., and was surmounted by a stone coping. It is contemporaneous with the second system of fortifications, i. e. *ca.* the middle of the fourth century B. C. The excavator thinks it was probably just a bench before the gate to be used as a casual resting place in time of security. It is just possible that it was more than this—something, perhaps, in the nature of the meeting place of the assembly in Homeric Troy, which was located "by the gates of Priam."<sup>8</sup> It could have accommodated *ca.* thirty persons.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Goldman, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 394, 395 and Pl. IV.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. p. 24.

## APPENDIX II

### THE SYNEDRIUM AT ATHENS

The word "synedrium" (συνέδριον) is found in literature and inscriptions of the Classical period, and was quite common later. It usually connoted in a concrete sense the body of people who were assembled, but it could also refer abstractly to the meeting itself. The body or meeting thus designated usually had a political connection.

There are also a few literary passages where the word connotes a specific building in which a certain body met. The most useful of these are collected below. Xenophon says that the Thirty at Athens, when things were going against them, although deserted and frightened, nevertheless met "in the Synedrium."<sup>1</sup> Lysias has a defendant state:

You have heard how the law expressly enjoins the punishment of those who utter abuse at a session of the court [ἐν τῷ συνέδριῳ]. But I have produced witnesses of the fact that I did not enter the magistrates' hall [τὸ ἀρχεῖον]. . . . For if it is evident that I did not go into the court [τὸ συνέδριον] . . . it is manifest that I have done no wrong.<sup>2</sup>

Polybius records that, at a given time all over Magna Graecia, the Synedria of the Pythagorean political organizations were set on fire.<sup>3</sup> There is preserved in one of the Oxyrhynchus papyri a complaint of a corn merchant who went to the office of the general, having something (to be weighed), and placed it on the bronze scales "in the Synedrium."<sup>4</sup> Cassius Dio, describing the funeral of the Emperor Claudius, tells how they carried the body "to the Bouleuterion" and laid it there in state; after this they set fire to

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<sup>1</sup> *Hellenica*, II, 4, 23.

<sup>2</sup> *On Behalf of the Soldier*, 9 and 10.

<sup>3</sup> II, 39, 1; cf. Strabo, VIII, 7, 1 (C 384) and note in Loeb edition.

<sup>4</sup> IV, 717.

the seats and burned both the body "and the Synedrium."<sup>5</sup> Hesychius defines the word as meaning "dicasterion,"<sup>6</sup> and Photius says the Athenians call by this name both the place and the seats (τοὺς θώκους) where they meet (συνεδριοῦσι).<sup>7</sup> Synedrium was also the official word used of the building in which the Amphietyonic league met at Delphi and Thermopylae.

The word has also been found in the sense of a specific building in three, possibly four, Attic decrees.<sup>8</sup> The earliest in date is a completely preserved decree of the assembly, passed in 284/3 B. C. in honor of an archon.<sup>9</sup> At the end, there is the provision that the secretary shall have it inscribed on a stone stele and set up "in front of the Synedrium" (ἐμπροσθε τοῦ συνεδρίου). This complete stele had been re-used as a drain cover in the fifth century A. D. in the north room of the Metroum. Meritt restores the same phrase in a fragment of a decree dating from before 263/2 B. C., and possibly passed in honor of an archon.<sup>10</sup> A third decree was passed in 239/8 B. C. and honors a board of grain inspectors. It was to be set up "by the Synedrium" (πρὸς τῷ συνεδρίῳ).<sup>11</sup> The last is an inscription of ca. 220 A. D., which provides for a bronze statue(?) to be placed "in the Synedrium [ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ] of the holy *gerousia* and the Prytaneum."<sup>12</sup>

The question is, to what specific building in Athens do these four inscriptions refer? Thompson suggests that "synedrium" is synonymous with "bouleuterion."<sup>13</sup> He points out that the regular meeting place of the Thirty was the Bouleuterion, so that Xenophon ought to be referring to

<sup>5</sup> XL, 49, 2 and 3.

<sup>7</sup> S. v. "συνεδριον."

<sup>6</sup> S. v. "συνεδριον."

<sup>8</sup> Cf. pp. 136, 160.

<sup>9</sup> *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 101-103, ll. 39, 40.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109, l. 5.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 1937, pp. 445-448, l. 12.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Oliver, "The Sacred Gerusia," *Hesperia*, Suppl. VI, 1941, p. 128, l. 13. I regret that this study appeared too late to be used more extensively in this book.

<sup>13</sup> *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 215, note 4.

that building when he says that the Thirty met in the Synedrium. He also thinks that the finding of three of these inscriptions near the Bouleuterion would support this view. Miss M. Crosby believes that the exact provenience of the inscriptions is not particularly conclusive, and she inclines to the view that Synedrium was synonymous with Thesmotheteum (office building of the *thesmothetae* or lawgivers).<sup>14</sup> She bases this identification on the fact that synedrium (meaning meeting, not meeting place) is used in connection with both the archon basileus and the thesmothetae, and because one of the decrees concerned is in honor of an archon.<sup>15</sup> Meritt, on the other hand, reiterates Thompson's argument with regard to the place of finding of the complete stele and quotes the passage from Lysias, where synedrium apparently equals *archeion* (office).<sup>16</sup> He connects the Synedrium with the civic center around the Bouleuterion, and says it is reasonable to suppose that the Synedrium "was near to and perhaps enclosed the Bouleuterion."

The question can scarcely be decided with certainty unless further evidence is discovered; but it seems very likely that the Synedrium and Bouleuterion were identical. The fact that the Bouleuterion was the regular meeting place of the Thirty and that Xenophon mentions their meeting in the Synedrium makes this conclusion very probable.<sup>17</sup> The argument from the passage in Lysias is only vaguely confirma-

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<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 446-448.

<sup>15</sup> She might have made out a much better case for Synedrium = Royal Stoa on the following grounds: The council of the Areopagus is referred to as a "synedrium," and it could meet in the Royal Stoa; furthermore, this, not the Thesmotheteum, was the office of the archon basileus, and it would be from there that he drove his two associates (*ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου*); and, finally, another decree in honor of an archon contains the provision that it be set up "in front of the Royal Stoa."

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 1938, p. 103.

<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, the Thirty summoned Socrates to come to the Tholus (Plato, *Apology*, 32 C). Probably this was their quarters only for dining and sleeping, as it was for the prytany regularly in office.

tory.<sup>18</sup> The finding of the unbroken stele in the Metroum may also be used as legitimate supporting evidence for fixing the approximate location of the Synedrium. By the fourth century B. C., the assembly place of the Delphic Amphictyonic league was called Synedrium, and the assembly places of the Pythagoreans throughout southern Italy were so called in the third century B. C.; both provide good parallels. The passage from the papyrus associates the synedrium with trials, and it is well known that the Bouleuterion at Athens was so used. Finally, the passage from Cassius Dio furnishes valuable evidence that the terms "bouleuterion" and "synedrium" were synonymous in his day.

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<sup>18</sup> *Archeion* can mean any civic office building. Meritt apparently means that the Synedrium may have been a sort of precinct. Literary evidence, however, indicates that it was a proper building.

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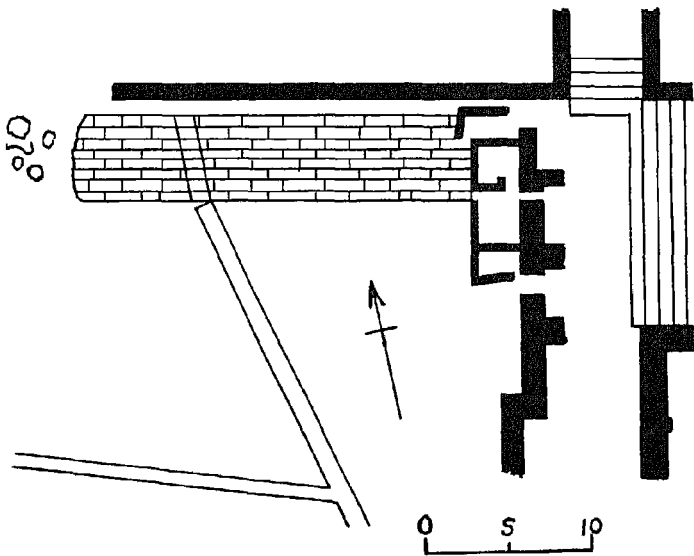
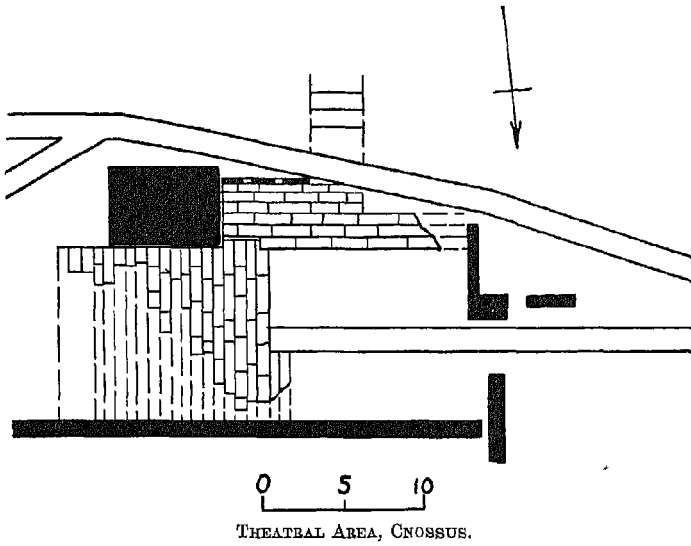
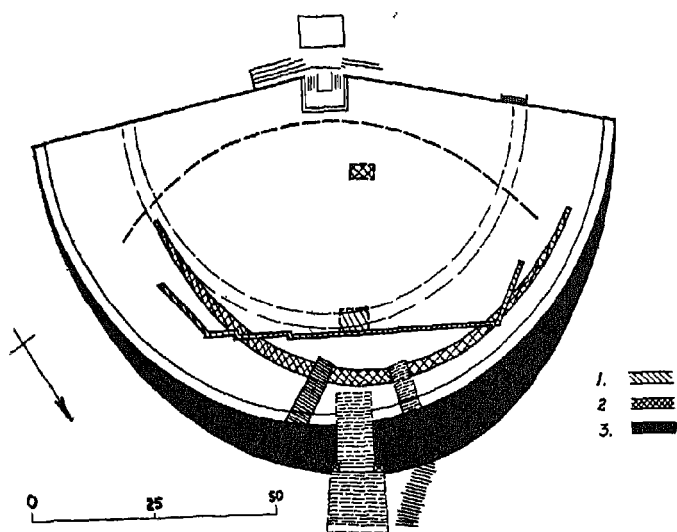


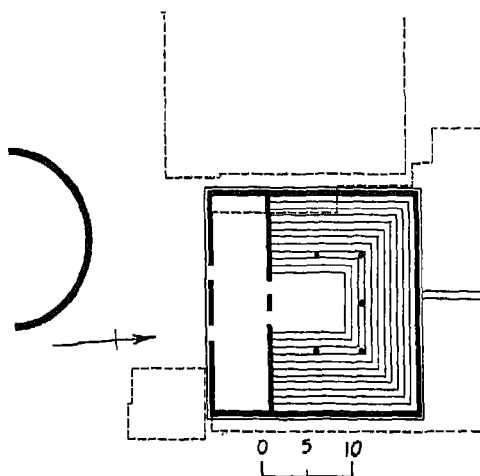


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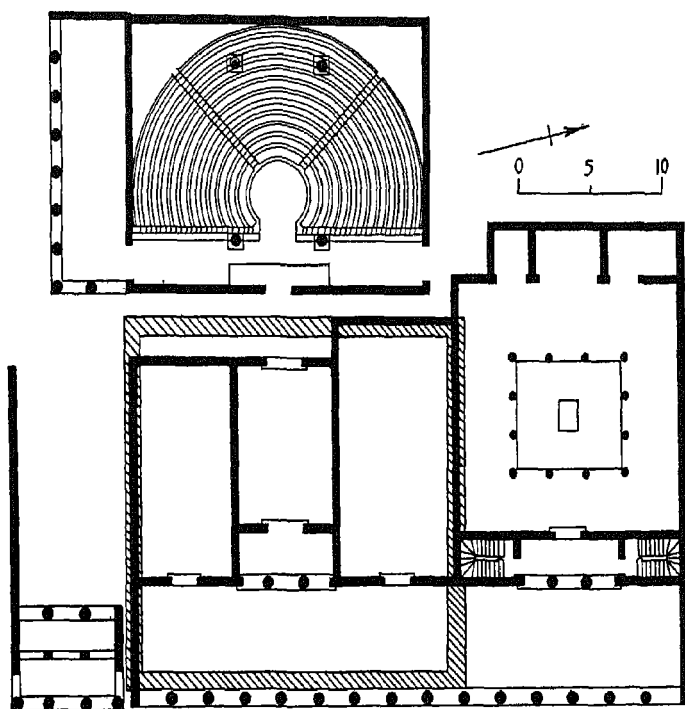
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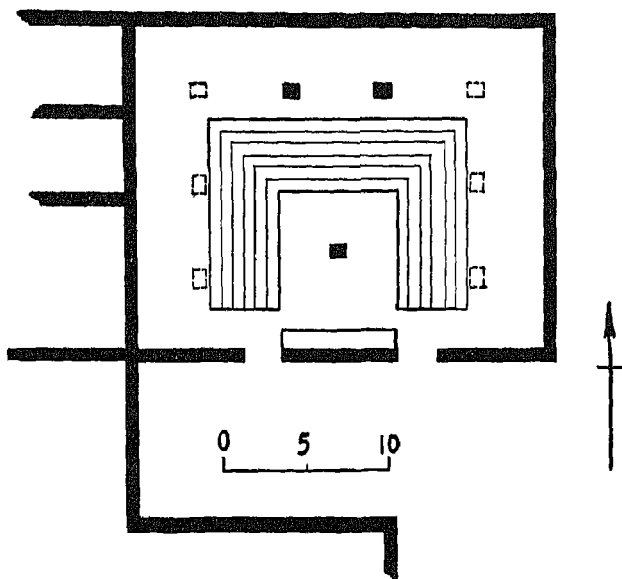


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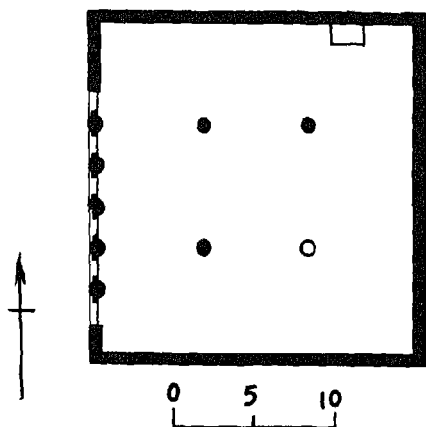
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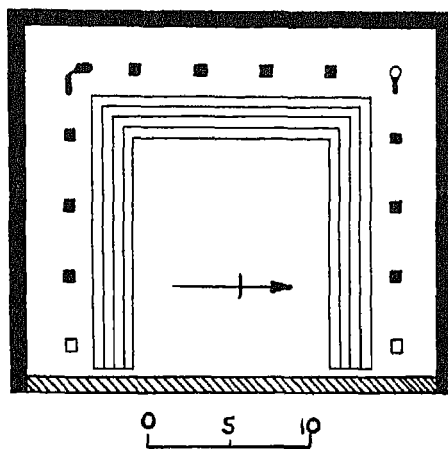
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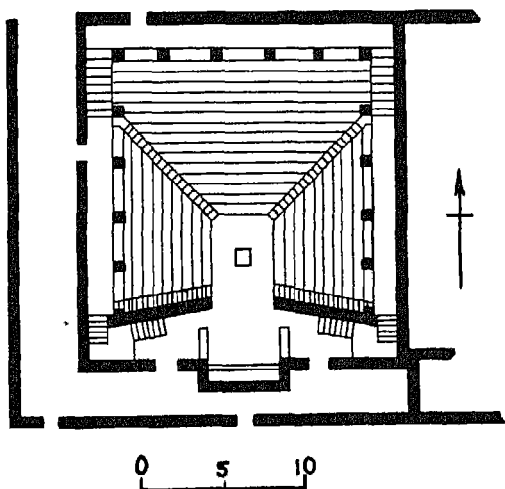
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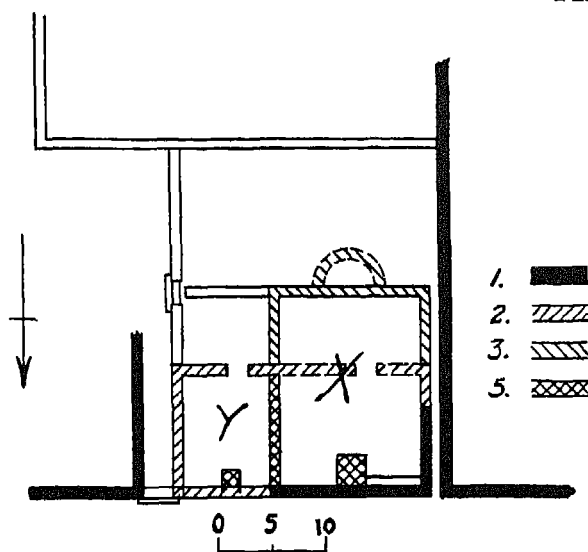
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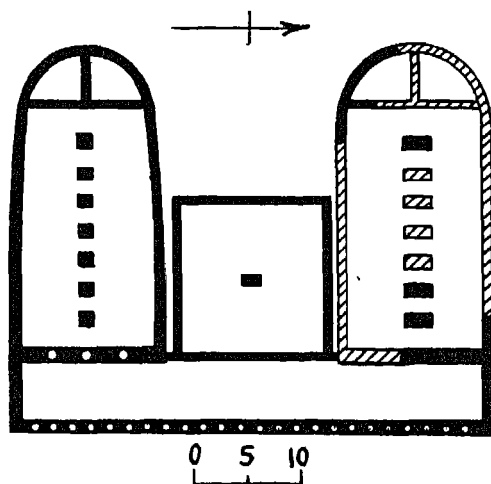
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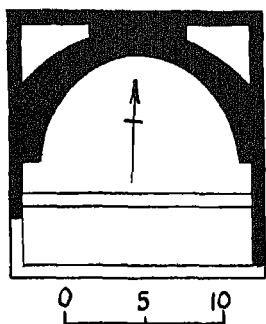
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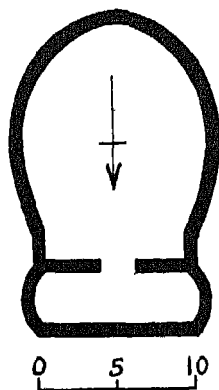
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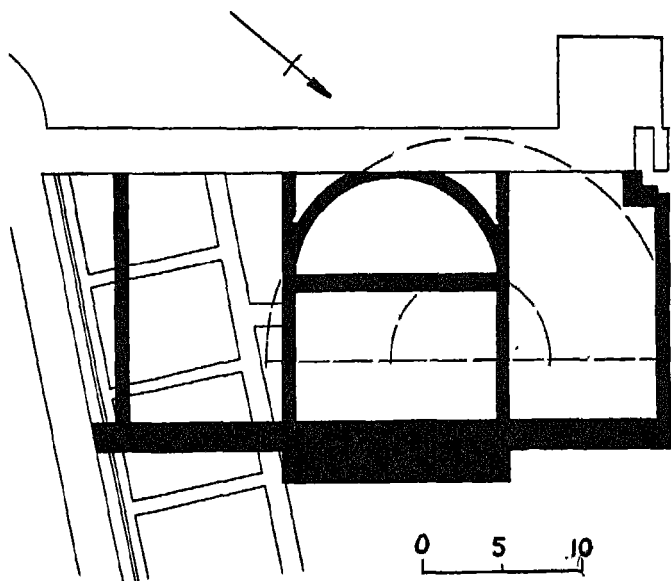
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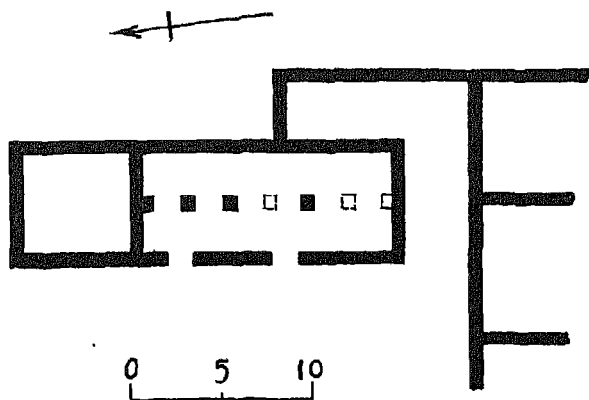
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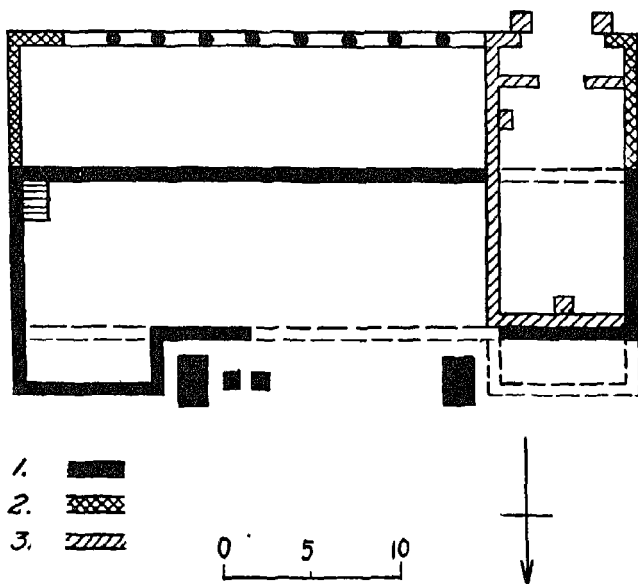
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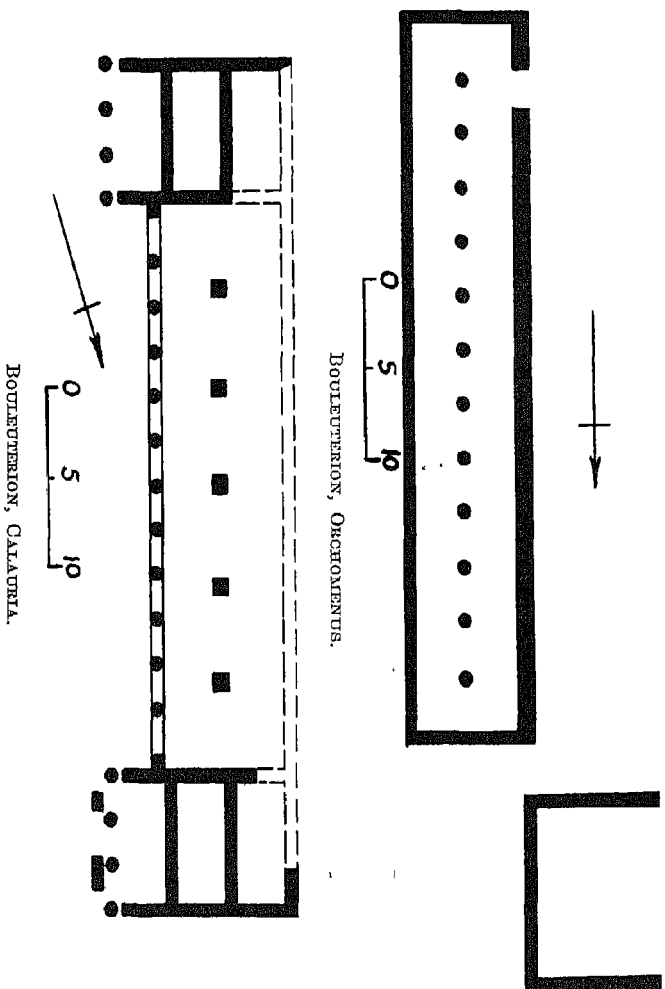
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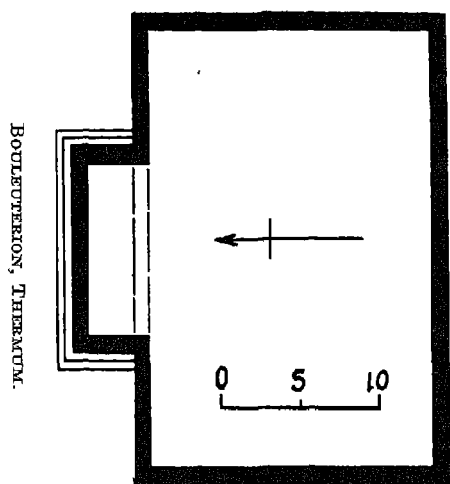
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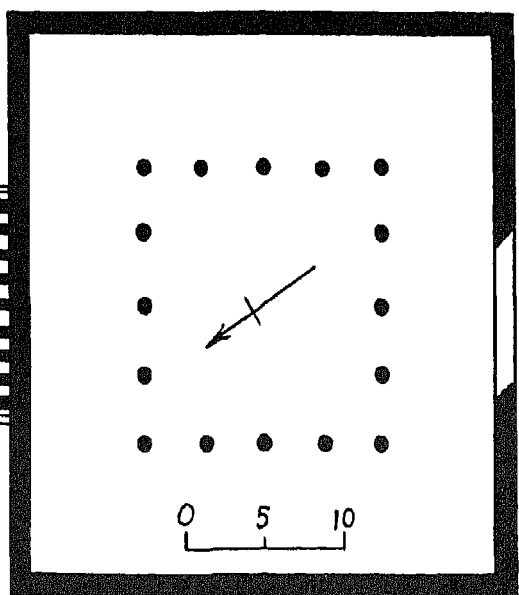
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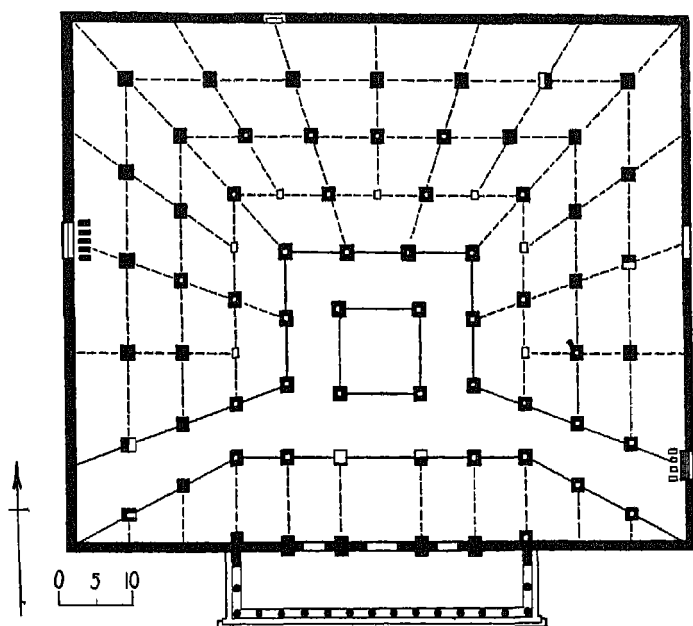




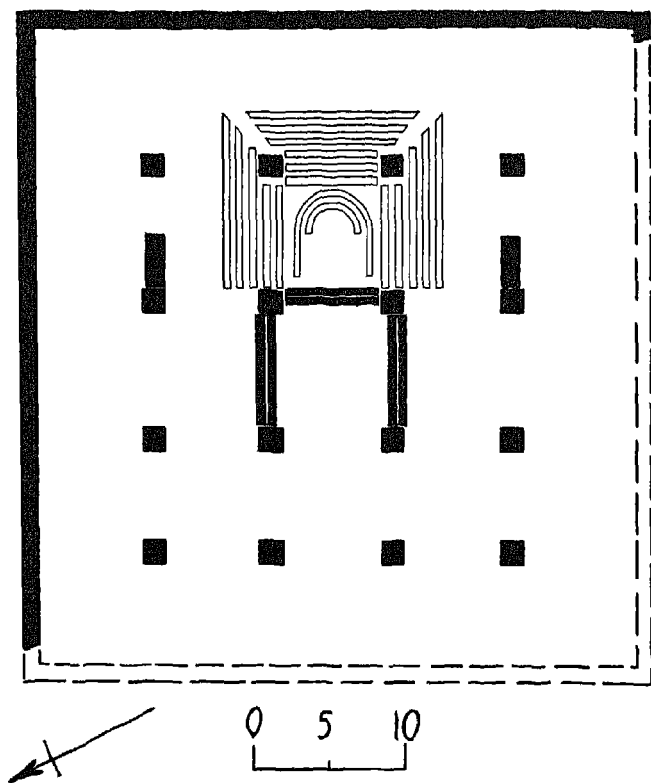
BOULEUTERION, THERA.



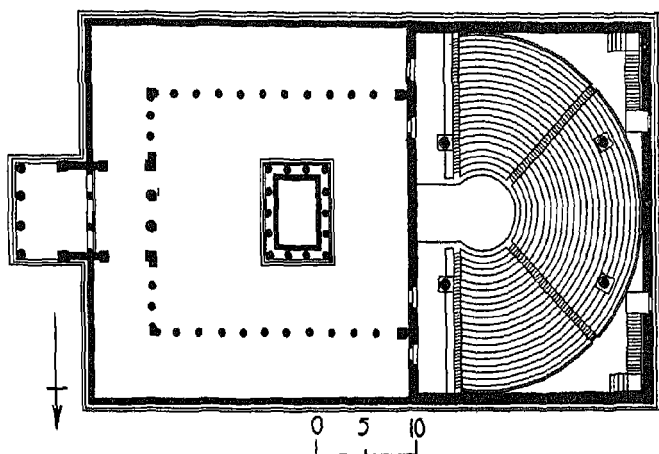
BOULEUTERION, THASOS.



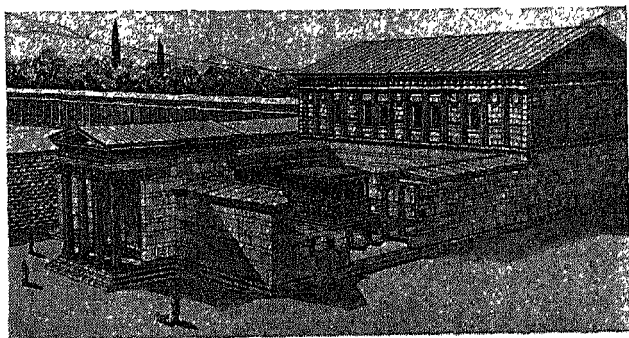
TERSILION, MEGALOPOLIS.



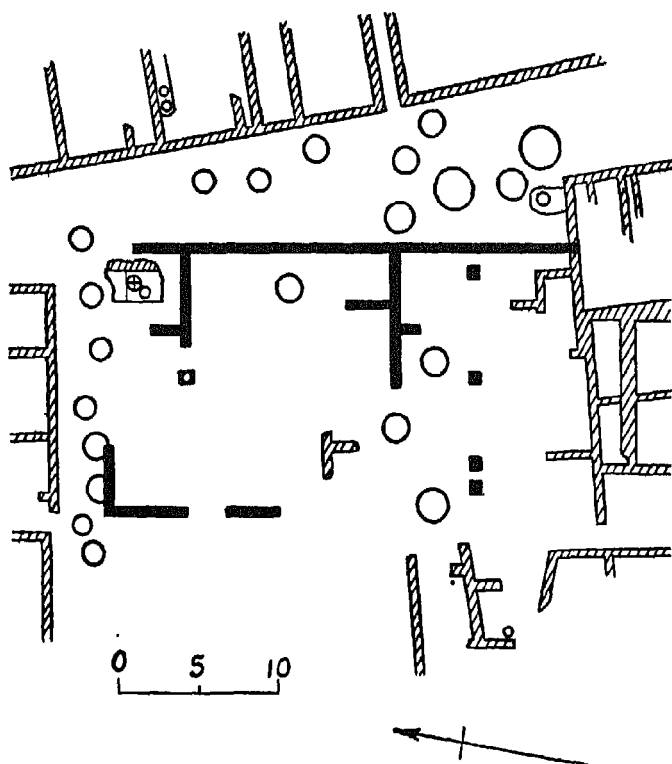
BOULEUTERION, SICYON.



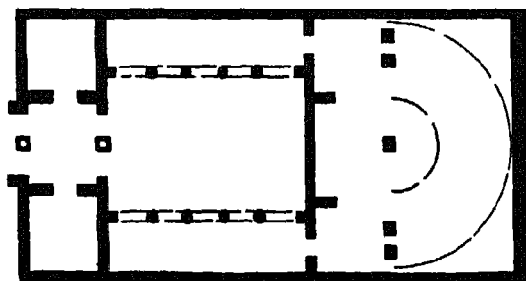
BOULEUTERION, MILETUS.



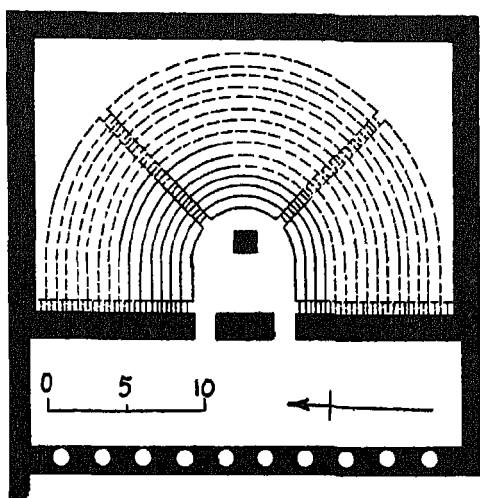
RESTORATION OF BOULEUTERION, MILETUS.



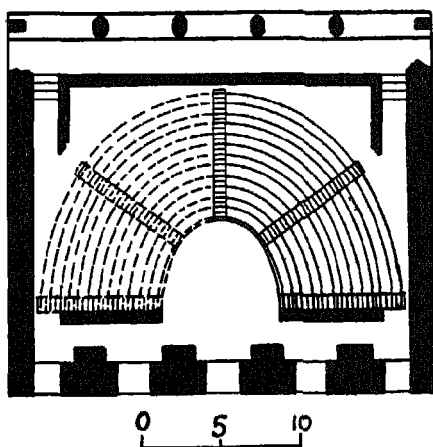
PRESENT WALLS OF BOULEUTERION, OLYNTHUS.



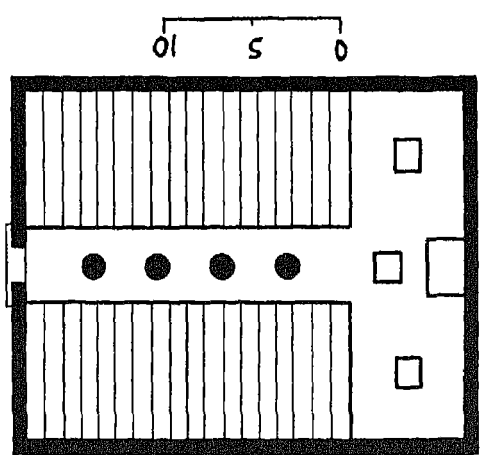
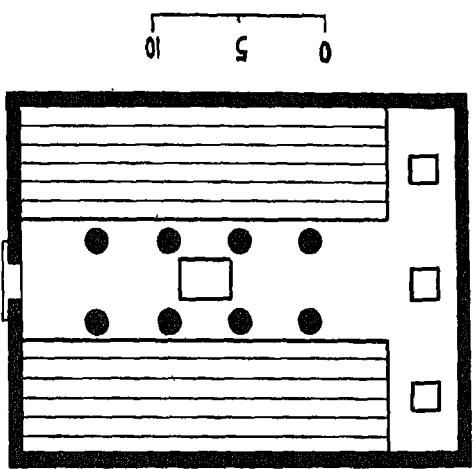
RESTORED PLAN OF BOULEUTERION, OLYNTHUS.



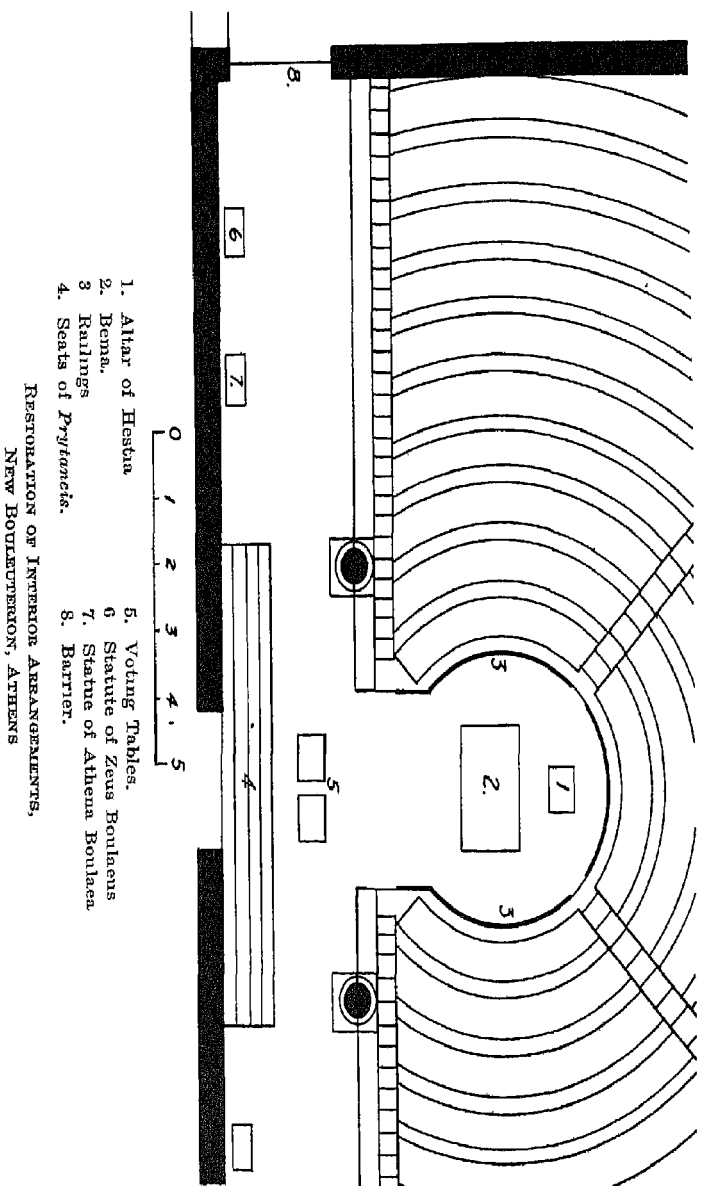
BOULEUTERION, TROY.



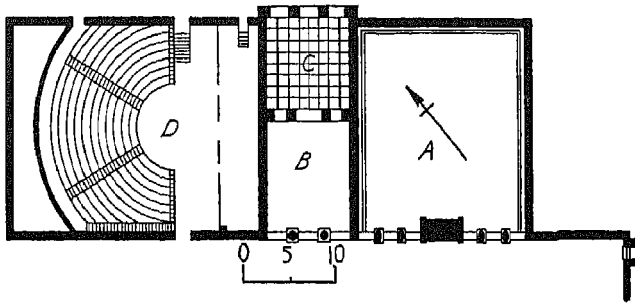
GERONTICON, NYSA.



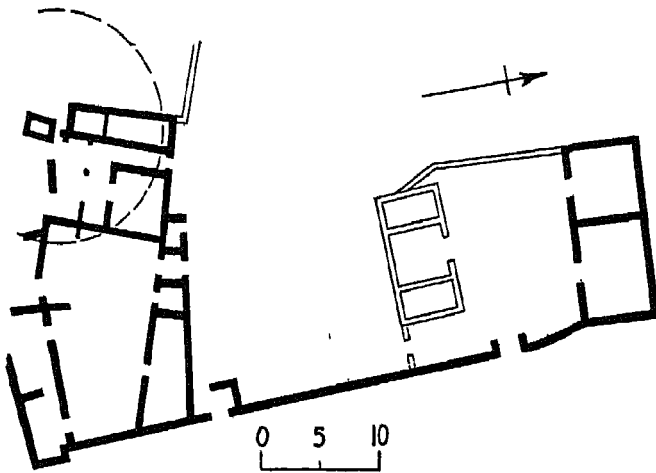
TWO RESTORATIONS OF THE PHOCICON.







BOULEUTERION, MESSENE.



PRIMITIVE BOULEUTERION COMPLEX, ATHENS.

